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THE STATE OF EUROPE.

BEFORE we discuss the "State of Europe," we may as well inquire why it is, and whose doing it is, that Europe is in "a state" at all. We are told that war is not only possible, but even probable—nay, all but certain. But who desires war—for what object is it to be declared—in whose interests is it to be waged? What new state of things has arisen—what unforeseen disturbance has broken out—that menaces mankind with the direst of calamities? Is it France that desires war? The Minister of the Interior, who complains that the "spirit of the nation has become careless of all but material interests," sufficiently refutes any such idea. Where, then, are we to look for the origin of a state of things which keeps all Europe in continual suspense and alarm?

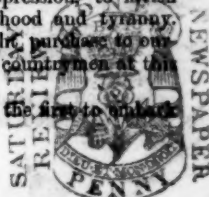
The fate of Europe rests with that little gang of Italian conspirators who took the civilization of France by the throat on the night of the Second December. It is they who have prepared the gunpowder plot which is ready at any instant to explode under our feet, and they are just now rattling the dice to determine at what moment they shall fire the train. The civilized world is just now at the mercy of a man who, alike in his public as in his private character, has shown that no sense of justice, no consideration of honour, no sentiment of humanity, will restrain him from those courses of blood and crime which are indispensable to his selfish ambition. That Europe should have to wait upon the nod of such a man is not less humiliating than it is terrible. Let us inquire how the danger has arisen, for it is by understanding this that we can alone learn how it may be stayed. We believe that it is in no slight degree to the foolish and mischievous manner in which what is called the Anglo-French Alliance has been for two years conducted by English politicians that the present critical state of Europe is due. It is Lord PALMERSTON and Lord MALMESBURY who have taught LOUIS NAPOLEON to think himself the master of the world, and to treat not only his own subjects, but all other nations, as his slaves. It is difficult to say whether the master or the scholar deserves the first prize in the emulation of servility and adulation. The one began with the Conspiracy Bill, and the other has ended with the Portuguese Despatches. In either case the result has been the same. The language and the policy of the men whose office it was to speak the thoughts and the spirit of Englishmen, have given the Emperor of the FRENCH to understand that England is afraid of him. With England at his feet—i.e., with an England such as she is made to appear in the mouth of Lord MALMESBURY—no wonder if LOUIS NAPOLEON supposes that he may deal as he likes with Europe.

We have discussed in another place the Portuguese correspondence in detail. We refer to it now only for the purpose of illustrating the attitude which the French Government has been permitted to assume towards England. The French fleet is sent into the Tagus to enforce a claim which, on the face of it, was wholly unjustifiable. The English Government remonstrates on the subject. They appeal to the arbitration clause in the Protocols of Paris. To this Count WALEWSKI replies, that "the twenty-third Protocol of the Congress of Paris was the simple expression of a wish," and that for his part he did not choose to be bound by it. The menace is persisted in, and the violence is consummated. The English Minister calls the attention of the French Government to the fact that "Great Britain has been for two centuries in strict alliance with Portugal, and is bound by treaties to come to her assistance in case of attack or aggression by foreign Powers." And what is the answer of our "faithful ally?" "Count WALEWSKI adverted to the allusion made

"to the treaties which bind Great Britain in certain eventualities to give assistance to Portugal against foreign aggression. He expressed regret that this allusion had been made. He did not exactly know the nature of the treaties referred to; and as he could not for one moment feel in doubt of the justice of his own cause, he had never had the least anxiety lest the good understanding which exists between France and Great Britain should be imperilled. . . . However, no fear of consequences would prevent the French Government from doing what they thought right, and what the honour of France demanded." That is the *dernier mot* of our discussion with our "faithful ally;" for Lord MALMESBURY's only reply to this very cavalier style of address is this:—"It is not desirable that you should at present revert to the conversation with Count WALEWSKI, as reported in your despatch." And then the Queen of ENGLAND, in the Speech with which she opens Parliament, is made to magnify the generous and noble conduct of "my faithful ally"—meaning thereby not the King of PORTUGAL, whose rights have been violated, but the Emperor of the FRENCH, who has defied our remonstrances and snapped his fingers in our face. Now, what is the inevitable result of such a policy as this? What is it, and what can it be, but to impress the bully of Europe with the dangerous belief that we are afraid of him? It is all very well to say that he has subsequently abandoned the system of negro importation. He could well afford to do that. A few hundred negroes, more or less, signified very little to him. The *coup* on which his mind was set had been struck. He meant to show publicly to Europe that he could and would coerce an independent State by brute force, whether England chose it or no; or, as M. WALEWSKI elegantly expresses it, "No fear of consequences would prevent the French Government from doing what they thought right." This is the policy of the Empire, and Europe is about to reap the fruits of it.

If the sycophants of success were capable of a sentiment of shame, the men who have constituted themselves the servile apologists of the "Saviour of Society" might be overwhelmed with confusion at the present aspect of affairs. We have been accustomed to hear every crime defended, every baseness palliated, every outrage excused, on the ground that these things were necessary to give repose to France and peace to Europe. We were told that LOUIS NAPOLEON was naturally a man of honour, and that his perjuries were only part of an extensive scheme of benevolence—that his particular oppression of everything that was noble or good was a necessary incident in that universal justice which belonged to a plan of comprehensive government. If he was false, it was only from excess of truthfulness—if he was cruel, it was from superabundance of humanity—if he was violent, it was only from a passion for tranquillity. Well, these gentlemen have had their way. They have pampered, and dandled, and cockered their Frankenstein, and we hope they are satisfied with the result. They have brought in their Conspiracy Bills, they have exalted themselves in sycophancy and adulation, they have paid their Compiègne visits. They did all this, we are told, in the most magnanimous and patriotic of motives. Lo, NAPOLEON, forsooth, was the only friend we had in France. We compliment Lord PALMERSTON on his sagacity and discernment. It has been thought worth while to trample in the dirt all the convictions and all the sympathies which Englishmen are born to respect. We have been exhorted to suppress our love of liberty, to stifle our hatred of oppression, to lavish adulation on crime, to fawn upon falsehood and tyranny. And all for what? Why, that we might purchase to ourselves a patronage of which we ask our countrymen at this moment to estimate the value.

For our part, we have declined from the first to embark



in this desperate and disreputable speculation. As far as our voice could reach, we have protested against staking the honour and the safety of our country upon the board of a set of political sharpers, who might be content to play fair as long as they were winning, but who were capable of putting out the light and sweeping the stakes into their pockets the moment the turn of luck might go against them. Well, the lights may be put out now at any moment, and we may find ourselves in the midst of a general scuffle in the dark. We believe that all this might have been prevented by a more manly, a more honest, a more courageous course on the part of the politicians who for the last few years have had the conduct of English affairs. If they had had the honour and the honesty to deal plainly and openly with the Ruler of France—if they had not dissembled their fears under the transparent garb of a sordid adulation—if they had had but the courage to adhere to their own principles, and not courted contempt by the hollow flattery of a man who despised the sycophants he made use of—things would probably never have reached the extremities at which they have now arrived. The Emperor of the FRENCH would never have dared to treat England as he has treated her if we had assumed the position of an equal in our mutual relations. But the "alliance," as it is called, has been conducted on the footing of a transaction in which the condescension is all on the side of LOUIS NAPOLEON, and the sacrifice is all on our own. As an eminent French statesman has remarked, "Quant il a tant de besoin de vous pourquoi ces caresses." *Pourquoi*, indeed. At length we have succeeded in persuading him that we have so much need of him that he can altogether dispense with us.

The present state of terror and anxiety which pervades Europe is a just retribution upon those shallow reasoners and cowardly politicians who rejoiced over the suppression of the liberties of France. Frenchmen, we were told, with an air of triumphant self-sufficiency, were not fit for freedom. LOUIS NAPOLEON might not be an unexceptionable character, but at any rate he knew how to keep the French nation quiet. The Empire, at least, was peace, and that was an excuse for all its crimes. Well, what do these sagacious and far-sighted gentlemen think of the Empire now, for which they have denied their own faith, and crawled, slavered, and eaten dirt. What would they give now for a little of that freedom of speech in France over whose fall they have basely exulted—for a little of that liberty of opinion at whose strangulation they were so happy to assist? Beyond the little knot of adventurers at the head of the Government, there is not a man in France who is not against the unjust and unnecessary war with which we are menaced. But the mind of France is in chains—the voice of France is smothered. "Let the papers say and say again, that towards whatever result the will of the EMPEROR may lead it, it is the duty of the nation, which has so often received the benefit of his wisdom, and which he has made so great, to follow without hesitation." Such is the allocution of the MINISTER of the INTERIOR to what is called the Press of France. We commend its spirit to the attention of the admirers of Government by Saviours of Society. If the object and the justification of the extinction of liberty in France was the assurance of the repose of Europe, perhaps even the guests of Compiègne may admit that the experiment has not been altogether a success. When English politicians can be taught that it is on the whole better to be honest, straightforward, and brave, and that in the long run truth will have the best of it, we shall have less occasion to discuss with anxiety the "State of Europe." We shall then be treated with the respect of which we shall have shown ourselves deserving. If English politicians had held a language worthy of their country and of themselves, Europe could not now have been in "a state." It is, however, some satisfaction to learn, from Mr. DISRAELI's statement yesterday evening, that there is a prospect of France and Austria agreeing, with the consent of the Papal Government, to evacuate the Roman States. We shall be glad if it appears that this very desirable result is due, in some measure, to the adoption of firmer language on the part of our own Cabinet.

THE INEVITABLE QUESTION.

ONE more debate on the Indian Loan Bill is promised on the second reading. The necessity for the measure is so apparent that, so far as the enactment itself is concerned, discussion is superfluous, and opposition impossible. The sanction asked by the INDIAN SECRETARY will doubtless

be given without a dissentient voice; but the anxiety with which a renewed debate is looked for is justified by the importance of the question which lies behind Lord STANLEY's modest proposal to be allowed to raise a loan of 7,000,000*l.* on the security of the Indian revenues alone. Though the relations between Indian and Imperial finance are not touched by the present Bill, there is a growing and a just conviction that the final settlement of the principle on which these relations are ultimately to rest is a duty as urgent as it is grave. Thus far, all who have seriously considered the matter are entirely agreed, however wide asunder their views may be as to the course which ought to be pursued. It is, perhaps, scarcely to be hoped that Parliament, pressed as it is with other important subjects, and naturally disposed to stave off a decision encumbered with so many difficulties, will effectually and at once entertain a question on which the Government has not ventured, in the present temper of the House, to challenge an explicit vote. But it did not need Lord STANLEY's warning prediction, or the forebodings with which it was echoed from the Opposition benches, to prove that events have made it impossible that a serious discussion and a formal determination of this vital question of Indian finance can be very long delayed. Two considerations are quite conclusive as to the importance of settling the principle to be adopted with as much promptness as is consistent with the gravity of the subject. The matter is not complicated by any collateral issues. It is a simple question, aye or no, whether the solvency of the Indian Exchequer is to be guaranteed by the Consolidated Fund; and it is difficult to say on which view of the duty or policy incumbent on this country the peril and mischief of delay would be the more serious. On the hypothesis that we shall be at last compelled to submit to this contingent burden, to postpone the decision is to waste at least 1,000,000*l.* a-year on extra interest during the period for which the matter may remain in suspense. If, on the other hand, it would be just and possible to repudiate the obligation, it is almost certain that, by putting off a solemn declaration of that intention, we shall weaken the moral defence of the Government against its Indian creditors, and end by drifting into a liability which could only have been avoided, if at all, by an emphatic disclaimer in the first instance. It may be said that the Indian Act of last year does contain such a disclaimer; but it will be difficult hereafter to rely on a clause introduced without discussion, and shaken by such intimations as have already fallen from the Indian Minister, and are likely to be repeated in future years. The choice before the country is either to save India an enormous annual charge, and gradually restore her finances to a sound condition, or to relieve England (should that alternative be found practicable) from a formidable contingent liability. By attempting to shirk the question, we shall lose both the one and the other advantage. India will go on paying, or at least owing, five or six per cent. interest on her debt, and England will not escape the dreaded contingency. But assuming that the question ought to be settled at once, in what sense should it be decided? We believe that there is no room for doubt either as to what ought to be done, or what ultimately will be done. There is now, and perhaps will be for some time, a struggle between necessity and disinclination. Every one begins by desiring the one conclusion, and ends by adopting the other. It is not pleasant to undertake even a prospective and contingent debt from which we have hitherto imagined ourselves exempt; but if the liability is really inevitable, it is surely better to acknowledge it with a good grace, and thereby relieve the finances of India from otherwise hopeless embarrassment, than to persist in sapping the resources of the Calcutta Treasury without relieving ourselves to the extent of a single shilling.

Take the lowest ground. Put the interests of India out of consideration, and assume that England is to be guided by principles of the purest selfishness—will she gain or lose by refusing to guarantee the Indian debt? On one condition only can she derive any benefit from such a policy, and that is, that it shall be persisted in to the end, even though that should be the bankruptcy, and consequent extinction of our Indian Government. It will obviously be quite immaterial to us, though by no means so to India, whether the guarantee be or be not given, unless the resources of India should hereafter prove insufficient to provide for the dividends. But, suppose that unfortunate state of things to have arrived, and consider the position in which Parliament would be placed. A body of English creditors, having claims amounting to

50,000,000*l.*, and influence in proportion, would urge that they had advanced their money to a solvent Company, and that the nation, having annihilated their debtors, and seized all the corporate property into its own hands, was bound to make good their loss. What answer could be given to such demands? Could this country say that it was true it had assumed the property of the Company, but that it had never the smallest intention of undertaking its liabilities? When one railway company is merged in another, Parliament always sees the justice of transferring all the old claims to the shoulders of the new corporation. How can it refuse to apply to the nation the principle which it deems just in private affairs? And if it insisted upon laying down such a special rule in its own favour, what would be the estimate of its good faith in other matters? A merchant who, by a shabby artifice, escapes from the claim of one creditor, finds his credit gone at once; and it cannot be otherwise with the credit of a nation. Whether the old Indian creditors would or would not have any rights which they could enforce at law—a matter perhaps of some uncertainty—their demands would be sure to prevail, because this country could not afford to damage the reputation on which her financial strength depends.

But there would be another class of creditors scarcely less difficult to deal with. They would say that they had lent their money to a Governor-General of India, who was the representative of the Queen of England—that the loans had been avowedly contracted by the direction of an English Secretary of State, and with the sanction of the British Parliament. They would fairly enough contend that if the revenues of India failed to meet their claims for interest, its bankruptcy was due to extravagance or misgovernment, for which Parliament itself was responsible, and that therefore they ought not to be held to the condition of requiring payment from the resources of India alone. Perhaps it might be replied that it was so set down in the bond, and this plea would doubtless prevail in a court of law. But the serious question again would be, whether it would pay for England to act the part of Shylock. We think not.

It has been argued that, if Indian creditors are to have an English guarantee, the same privilege ought to be conceded to Canada and our other colonies. But there is no analogy between a colony and a dependency. Canada governs herself, while India is ruled by England. A Canadian bankruptcy would not discredit England, nor would it be irretrievable by the province itself. An Indian bankruptcy would be a slur on the good faith of the country which ruled at Calcutta, and would inevitably destroy our Eastern Empire. If Canada failed, we should certainly not offer pecuniary aid. If the Indian Exchequer fell short, we must either come to the rescue, or retire from the country. The demands of creditors would not be the only pressure brought to bear. The Indian Minister of the day would come into the House of Commons to explain that, owing to unforeseen circumstances, he had not been able to raise a revenue sufficient for the expenditure of the year—that for want of money, he had cut down his military expenses so low that the QUEEN'S authority could not be maintained, and taxes could not be collected—that the natives were in insurrection—that Indian credit was gone, since no capitalist would trust a Government whose last days seemed to be approaching—that a prodigal expenditure of English blood, as well as English money, might be necessary to reinstate the Indian Government—and that he must once more repeat, probably for the last time, that nothing but the credit of the English Government could prolong our rule in India, or save the lives of the colonists whom we had encouraged to settle among Hindoos and Mahometans. How could this appeal be met? We know what the answer to a demand for soldiers would be, for we know what it always has been. But would Parliament say, "You shall have our blood but not our gold. Take as many soldiers as you can pay; but rather than give, or lend, or even guarantee a single million, we will let the Indian Exchequer break, and the Indian Empire perish. We are sorry for your difficulties, and feel for the dangers to which English men and women will be exposed, but it is a sacred principle with us that Indian and English finance shall be kept distinct." Is it not preposterous to suppose that cold-blooded pedantry like this would prevail in such an extremity? But it may be said that the extremity will not occur. If not, then all controversy is at an end; for in that case there can be no difficulty in giving a guarantee which will involve no risk to us, while it will confer vast benefits on India.

But if the emergency really did arise, there would be but

one voice, and that would be to preserve India at whatever cost. When we had succeeded, if we should succeed, the retrospect would not be agreeable. The pecuniary burden forced upon us by events would be swelled by the debts which had year by year accumulated for want of more timely assistance, and the amount of the liability of England would be double what it might have been had the embarrassments of India been relieved by the support of a guarantee at an earlier time. A still more serious cause of regret would be found in the certainty, or at least the high probability, that if England had adventured her credit at first, she might have prevented the catastrophe, and have placed the finances of India on a firm basis by the development of her resources with a rapidity only possible to a Government commanding the credit of the richest country in the world.

Notwithstanding the emphasis with which Lord STANLEY seemed to insist upon the prosecution of reproductive works, there is some reason to doubt whether he has adequately appreciated the critical nature of the present epoch in Indian finance. In his financial despatch to the GOVERNOR-GENERAL we find the ominous remark that, but for the expenses entailed by the mutiny, an increased activity in the prosecution of public works would have been justified. If this observation, followed as it is by injunctions to make the local resources of India provide for the whole expenditure, is to be understood as implying that profitable investments are to be suspended or checked until there shall again be an Indian surplus, the prospects are hopeless enough. We see no ground for despairing of the complete restoration of the Indian finances; but every fact that has been brought to light confirms the opinion that the energetic extension of remunerative undertakings affords the only chance of enabling India to support the heavy cost of English Government. Public works on a large scale can alone produce a surplus, and if they are to be starved till a surplus is found, each year will only add to the accumulated difficulties of the past. A large expenditure at a time when the revenue is deficient may be a bold policy; but the most enterprising is not always the most perilous course. The loan which has so long been open in Calcutta is very languidly negotiated at a rate of interest equivalent to six per cent.; and it may be impracticable to raise any considerable funds without the effective support of the English Government. But this, although an additional reason for granting an Imperial guarantee, will not justify—for nothing can justify—any slackness in the prosecution of public improvements. It should never be forgotten that the works which before the mutiny were desirable for the development of Indian prosperity, have now become essential for the maintenance of Indian solvency. If they are to wait for the return of a surplus, they will wait till the Greek Calends.

DANUBIAN POLITICS.

IT seems that the dregs of the Paris Congress require one more rinsing, and accordingly the wearied Plenipotentiaries are to shake up again the turbid sediment of Danubian politics. There is nothing more respectable than a spirit of national self-assertion, combined with a steady regard for constitutional rights; but at a time when military despotism is considered indispensable to the cause of order from Boulogne to Constantinople, it is perhaps inconvenient that Wallachia and Moldavia should, by an exceptional privilege, represent the cause of nationality and freedom. After occupying for two or three years the diplomatic energies of Europe, the Principalities were at last supposed to have received a definite organization as semi-independent provinces connected by a feudal allegiance with the Porte, and enjoying a federal machinery for the adjustment of their common interests. The constitutional susceptibilities of their French and Russian patrons were consulted in the creation of elective assemblies, which, in turn, were severally to appoint for each province a Hospodar as chief of the Executive. The union of England with Austria and Turkey had defeated the project of establishing a petty Danubian kingdom under the protection of Russia; and the French Government repeatedly announced, with a melancholy complacency, that its love of conciliation and deference to the wishes of allies had prevailed over the generous sympathies which clung to the union of the provinces under some scion of a reigning family who might thus become the founder of a dynasty. As England had recently engaged in a costly war to prevent the violent disruption of the Principalities from Turkey, the

concession of her own recent ally, that the object of the struggle should not be wholly lost, excited no especial feelings of gratitude. It was certain that the real independence and free development of the provinces could only be secured by a nominal connexion with the Ottoman Empire which would exclude the officious protection of more busy and repressive despotisms, and there was reason to believe that the more intelligent and respectable part of the population repudiated the zealous patriotism of Gallicized demagogues acting in concert with monks and bishops who received their inspirations from St. Petersburg. In this case, as in all other branches of the Turkish question, England has no other interest than to promote the peace and civilization of the East. The process by which, according to the original decision of the Congress, the destiny of the Principalities was to be determined, was in itself absurdly inappropriate; and if the vote of the Divans was overruled by the final accord of the Great Powers, a previous Assembly had declared itself against the project of union. The entire question was so remote, and in many respects so unintelligible, that even an unsatisfactory solution was accepted as a settlement of a troublesome dispute. After the meeting of the plenipotentiaries in the last autumn, it only remained to carry out in good faith a compromise which, whatever might be its substantive merits, was assuredly preferable to a rupture.

After the recent manifestations against the tranquillity of Europe, the revival of Danubian agitation can excite little surprise. For two or three years, all the outlying provinces of European Turkey have been disturbed by incessant foreign intrigues. Montenegro, Bosnia, and Servia have successively caused uneasiness to Austria, while by a remarkable coincidence they have attracted the sympathy of France. The revolutionary party in Moldavia and Wallachia has not failed to contribute to the general confusion. The decisions of the Conference at Paris have been deliberately set aside by the union of the provinces, and the organs of the French Government affect to urge upon the Great Powers the expediency of deferring to an irrepressible manifestation of the popular will. It is said that the omission to exclude by distinct words the appointment of a single Hospodar for both Principalities is equivalent to a legal sanction of the election of COUZA; nor can it be doubted that the diplomacy which has profited by the oversight had deliberately made room for it in the draft of the provincial Constitution. The unanimous choice of a joint ruler in a country which is notoriously divided on the question of union, is a sufficient proof that the ingenious device which has been adopted takes its origin in a foreign intrigue; but in their eagerness to carry out the policy of their patrons, the local politicians have been somewhat too hasty in following out their success to its legitimate consequences. If the representatives of England, of Austria, and of Turkey took the double nomination of Hospodars for granted, they demanded and obtained an express prohibition of the union of the Assemblies, and of the election of a foreign prince; yet the obscure instrument of faction, who has nominally been placed at the head of the Government, has of his own authority put an end to the separate existence of the Assemblies, while he professes only to hold his dignity in trust for some royal nominee of Russia or of France. It is impossible that Austria or Turkey should look with indifference on a revolution which sets all the provisions of treaties at defiance; but some caution is required in dealing with acts of bad faith which may have been primarily intended as the foundation of a quarrel. It may be hoped that Lord MALMESBURY will not prove himself as accommodating with reference to the East as in the advice which he tendered to Portugal in the matter of the captured French slaver.

The Conference might consistently reassemble to consider the measures to be taken for carrying out its previous decisions by repressing the mutinous demonstrations in the Principalities; but it seems to be understood that its deliberations are to take a wider scope, if Austria can be induced to allow of foreign interference with her Italian possessions. The versatile politicians of Paris prefer imaginary redistributions of territory even to that principle of nationalities which has recently excited a suspicious enthusiasm, and one of their favourite projects consists in the transfer to Austria of the Danubian Provinces in exchange for Lombardy and Venice. The arrangement in itself might not be undesirable, if there were the smallest probability that it would be adopted with the consent of any of the parties

concerned. Wallachian and Moldavian patriots might protest against the loss of their promised independence, but Turkey would obtain for the first time a secure barrier against Russia, and Italy would no longer present a dilemma between dislike of Austrian oppression and well-founded dread of the lawless turbulence of France. The real objection to the scheme consists in the certainty that the Conference would refuse to take it into consideration, although it is not easy to understand how, in the absence of novel proposals, the plenipotentiaries will find any subject to discuss. If the conclusions of last autumn are to be set aside because a local faction has stolen a march on its adversaries, no better security can be offered for the practical effect of any fresh decision. The authors of the plot have foreseen that, in the present condition of Europe, it will be difficult for any Power to occupy the provinces without exciting the jealousy of its neighbours. There will be little advantage in a meeting of diplomatists who are precluded from carrying out their decisions by force.

The obvious remedy for the complications which have arisen is too simple and straightforward for adoption. The Government which is really aggrieved by the attempt to create an independent Danubian State is able and willing to re-establish the modified authority which it claims under the sanction of recent treaties. If France and Russia and Austria would honestly abstain from interference, the Porte could, by a mere display of force, easily induce the Provincial Assemblies to return within the limits of their legitimate functions. Notwithstanding the enthusiasm for Christianity which blinds the disciples of VOLTAIRE to the true state of the East, it is an undoubted fact that Turkish functionaries have always been more popular in the Principalities than the Russian officers who have been anxious to supersede them. Even in the midst of the election disturbances, the representatives of the SULTAN were received with respect, and with a show of enthusiasm. The population has never been oppressed by its distant Sovereign, while it is well aware that its liberties have never been promoted by foreign interference. The promises of France may have recently produced a troublesome agitation among certain classes, but a temperate appeal to the Constitution, backed by a respectable Turkish force, could scarcely fail to put an end to the disturbance. The puppet Hospodar has, by the illegal transformation of the Provincial Assemblies into a national Legislature, disqualified himself from holding the office to which he has been ostensibly elected. It is impossible that the arrangement should be recognised by any impartial Government; and the mere practical continuance of the union for the present offers no security even to the party which supports it. If Europe remains at peace, the public law will sooner or later be put in force, without regard to the clamour of obscure provincial factions; and on the other hand, a general war would assuredly not terminate in the recognition of a free and independent State on the left bank of the Lower Danube. Emancipation from the nominal yoke of Turkey would easily be attained in the general confusion; but when they have once been reduced to subjection by a more vigorous neighbour, the Rouman provinces may finally take leave of their inchoate liberties, and of the undeveloped nationality which they are prematurely attempting to assert.

MANNING THE NAVY.

UNTIL the publication of the evidence on which the Report of the Commissioners for Manning the Navy is founded, it would be unfair to criticise severely the scheme which they have produced. But it is not one of those happy suggestions which carry conviction on the face of them, and we shall be agreeably surprised should the plan prove to be either the most efficient or the most economical that could be devised. There can be no question that, by a sufficient expenditure, any number of seamen that may be required for the Navy may easily be obtained, and the best test of the project of the Commission will be to compare the proposed increase of outlay with the resources which it is expected to furnish. The recommendations of the Commission relate partly to improvements in the peace establishment of the Navy, and partly to the means of providing efficient reserves on which to draw in the event of war. For the one object, they propose to add 104,000*l.* to the annual estimates, while the maintenance of special reserves is estimated to cost nearly 500,000*l.* a-year both during peace and in time of war. The changes recom-

mended in the ordinary establishment include an additional expenditure of about 16,000*l.* to provide a sufficient number of training ships to afford instruction to the whole number of boys annually entered in the Navy. There can be little doubt of the propriety of this outlay. The present practice is to admit about 2000 boys every year, and to train only a quarter of them. It is universally conceded that the best men in the fleet are those who have been broken in to their duties at a very early age; and it is obvious enough that, if it is good policy to teach 500 boys, it must be a mistake to leave 1500 to teach themselves. The other improvements in the peace establishment are all intended to increase the comforts and advantages of the service. Improved rations, a more liberal treatment in such matters as clothing and bedding, some trifling additions of pay and pension as gunnery rewards, and the removal of a few grievances of the warrant and petty officers, will swallow up the rest of the 104,000*l.* which forms the smaller item in the estimates of the Commission. How far these advantages will suffice to make Her MAJESTY'S service popular with seamen accustomed to the higher wages of the mercantile marine may be doubted; and the tone of the Report rather shakes our confidence in the judgment of the Commissioners on this important point.

They repeat the old cry that the disinclination of seamen to enter the navy is due chiefly to ignorance of the advantages it offers. If this were the whole truth, we should certainly expect to see Continuous Service Men, when entitled to their discharge, eagerly pressing for re-enlistment; but the very reverse is notoriously the case. Where ignorance of the privileges of the service keeps away one man, we are inclined to suspect that knowledge of the higher pay to be obtained elsewhere deprives the country of a dozen. The same sanguine view is indicated by the entire reliance which the Commissioners place upon the Continuous Service System. It is so far satisfactory to learn that the strongest evidence has been given that, on this system, the ordinary peace establishment of the Navy can be maintained by voluntary recruitment at whatever constant force may be desired; but it would be still more gratifying to be told that the volunteers were forthcoming, not only in adequate numbers, but with reasonable promptitude, and that they were drawn from a class of seamen as good as those who are attracted by the liberal pay of the Cunard and Oriental lines. But the Report is altogether silent as to the quality of the men who ordinarily take service in the Navy; and without more information on this vital point it is impossible to share without reserve the satisfaction with which the Commissioners seem to regard the working of the present system.

But it is true that we do generally manage, sooner or later, to secure as many seamen as are voted in ordinary years, and that our crews, after a certain amount of training, are not altogether inefficient. The real difficulty, however, has been to obtain the means of rapidly increasing our available force. The Commissioners do not so much as allude to the increase of wages as a means of effecting this object. They reject—at any rate as an immediate resource—both our old rather barbarous custom of impressment, and the more skilful system of compulsory service which is found so effective in France. We do not complain that a preference should be given to voluntary recruitment, provided it can be made thoroughly reliable on any emergency; and this the Commissioners hope to effect by the following arrangements. In the first place, they propose to keep 4000 men, of whom 1000 are to be seamen-gunners, in reserve at the various home ports, and to raise the strength of the coast-guard to 12,000. This part of the plan amounts substantially to the very simple proposal of increasing the strength of our peace establishment by 7000 men, and that not in the most economical way; for a large increase in the coast-guard is about the most costly mode of adding to the number of seamen permanently enrolled.

This part of the scheme, however, if not very novel or particularly economical, would at any rate give us several thousand more men, and its adoption would so far be an improvement on Sir J. PAKINGTON'S estimates. But the main trust of the Commissioners is placed in a project for the formation of a species of naval militia, which they propose to keep up to a strength of 25,000. The terms suggested by the Report would probably suffice to fill up the roll of these naval volunteers. The retaining fee is to be 5*l.* a year, with a pension in prospect, equivalent, in present value, to 1*l.* a year more. The men are to be permitted to engage either in the coasting or the American trade; and leave to sail on long

voyages is intended to be given to 5000 of the number, on condition that their pay shall be suspended during their absence. Lest the service should be thought too onerous, the naval volunteer is to be at liberty to retire at the end of successive intervals of five years, and may still retain the benefit of his pension rights by continuing an equivalent payment for the rest of the specified term. Admission to Greenwich Hospital, and the prospect of an appointment to the Coast Guard, are thrown in as additional temptations. In return for this liberal provision, the volunteer is to be bound to present himself for service or practice whenever called upon, during which time he will receive pay like any other seaman. Now that JACK is becoming rather a sharp hand in money calculations, it will possibly be easy to find 25,000 sailors willing to take 5*l.* a-year and a pension in return for the chance of occasional service. But will they be forthcoming when they are wanted? The Commissioners think that the moral influence supplied by due selection and regular training, combined with the loss of pension and other penalties in case of desertion, will afford sufficient security for the appearance of the men when summoned. It may do so; but the temptation to desert will be very strong. A man who has been earning nearly double the man-of-war's rate of wages, and receiving 5*l.* a-year besides, will be little enamoured of a change of service which will not only expose him to increased danger, for which he may care little, but will at the same time cut away half of his accustomed income, for which he cares very much. The steady men who remit their savings to their wives and families will feel this hardship more than any, and it will go sadly against the grain with them to report themselves for active service and reduction of pay. Then the privilege of retiring after five years will set one-fifth of the force free every year, and the 25,000 might thus be reduced to 20,000 whenever the approach of war threatened to call them from more profitable employment.

The full number of volunteers is intended to be enlisted, without delay, from the best men who can be found in the merchant service; but other means are to be employed for recruiting the force in future years. It is proposed with this object to offer gratuitous training to a large number of boys on board school ships to be stationed in the great commercial ports. No condition of joining the volunteers is to be exacted as the price of this preliminary education. The lads are to be allowed to find their way into the merchant service, and it is assumed that the attractions of the 5*l.* a-year will suffice to make the great majority of them anxious to enlist in the naval militia. The Commissioners seem to have satisfied themselves that the service will be so much sought after that the Government will be able to pick their own men, and to enrol all those whom they have been at the expense of training, before admitting the less efficient seamen who have not passed through the schools. The success of the scheme will mainly depend on the correctness of these anticipations, and until it has been some years at work, it will be impossible to guess whether the cost of the training establishment will not be entirely thrown away. If the ranks of the volunteers should be as readily filled as the Commissioners expect, the upshot of all their recommendations amounts to this—they will give us 7000 more seamen under the flag than we have at present, besides a force of 25,000 naval militia. This will be the whole gain, so far as seamen are concerned; for we omit a proposed increase of marines and marine pensioners, not because we doubt the prudence of strengthening that valuable corps, but because it is with respect to the seamen only that any real difficulty is met with. We have put the increase in the reserve of seamen 1000 higher than it is stated in the Report, because the Commissioners have erroneously assumed the existing strength of the Coast Guard to be 10,000, while it is, in fact, no more than 9000, of whom 1400 are not borne on ships' books. Making a corresponding increase in the estimate for the Coast Guard, the annual cost of these reserves comes to 500,000*l.*—which, with the 104,000*l.* to be expended in improving the condition of sailors on board ship, makes a total expense of 610,000*l.*, without reckoning a small increase for the augmentation of the marines. Even this estimate ought to be increased, for it is admitted that the naval militia will for some years cost more than the sum which is set down as the probable estimate when the system shall have got into regular train.

A very slight examination, moreover, of the few details that are given justifies the suspicion that the probable expenses are seriously understated. The cost of training in gunnery for 25,000 volunteers is estimated at 35,000*l.*,

or 1*l*. 8*s*. per man per annum. We should like much to know how long a man can be fed, paid seaman's wages, and employed in firing away expensive ammunition for the sum of 28 shillings, because the answer to this question would show how many days' training a naval volunteer could get in the course of a year. But even on the Commissioners' own showing we shall pay more than 600,000*l*. a year to obtain in return a few more comforts for sailors when afloat, and to secure a reserve force of 7000 good seamen, with a militia which could not be relied on at most for more than 15,000 or 20,000 imperfectly trained men. Is there no way of getting more for such an outlay as this? If Parliament is to vote more men, it is not very intelligible why half of them should be put into the Coast Guard, and the rest kept ashore in the ports. Everything connected with the management of the navy is mysterious enough, but there is something unusually strange about a plan that leaves a good ship rotting in ordinary, with a good crew lounging in the neighbouring seaport. It would surely be just as easy to put the men on board the ship, and keep them in good practice by cruising in the Channel. This would, besides, be much cheaper, and we think more effective also, than the Commissioners' scheme of a reserve of seamen and Coast Guards who are never to go to sea. The rest of the plan seems equally open to the objection that more might be done with the same amount of money. The 300,000*l*. which it is proposed to spend in small improvements on board ship and upon the militia experiment, would suffice either to keep constantly under the flag an additional force of at least 9000 men, or to raise the seamen's wages 30 or 40 per cent. Should the command of the market be thought more important than the maintenance of large reserves, either of these alterations, or some combination of them, would seem to promise a greater accession of real strength than the elaborate scheme of the Commissioners; and after all that can be suggested, it may perhaps turn out that the very obvious device of voting more men and paying them better, may be the cheapest as well as the most certain means of insuring the efficiency of the navy.

The essential point, however, at this moment is, that whatever plan may be preferred should be carried into execution at once. It is bad enough to see the waste of money that can be replaced; and we hope that the Admiralty will not show an equal aptitude for wasting time. Whether the Government adopt the recommendations of the Commissioners, or some better substitute, if such can be found, their decision, to be useful, must be prompt, and not a day should be lost in carrying into execution the scheme that may be selected. Every plan, indeed, threatens to add considerably to the estimates. But the money that really goes to augment our naval strength will never be grudged if some means can but be found for saving the millions that are allowed to run to waste.

THE IMMINENT REFORM BILL.

SO engrossed is the attention of the public mind by the menacing aspect of foreign affairs, that the question of Reform seems to be almost forgotten. If we are to judge by the evidence of the daily press for the last few weeks, no topics have been treated, by universal consent, as more stale, flat, and unprofitable than those which concern the indefeasible rights of man, or the numerical distribution of votes. The harangues of Mr. BRIGHT seem to belong almost as much to an obsolete volume of the *Annual Register* as the orations of the Irish Liberator; and we appear to have approached about as near to the Repeal of the Union as to that demolition of the Constitution which the member for Birmingham has made it his business to promote. However, in spite of all this undissembled apathy and somewhat discouraging indifference, we really are to have a Reform Bill next Monday. No doubt the play will "draw" on the occasion of Mr. DISRAELI's benefit. The chief interest which attaches to the piece is due to the secrecy in which its composition has been shrouded. Having learnt wisdom by the example of Mr. WELLINGTON GUERNSEY, no librarian has been intrusted with a copy of the playbill. Perhaps this profound discretion may have been not very difficult of observance, if it be true that the authors of the measure have at this moment as little knowledge as the public at large of the principles on which it is to be founded. It is possible that a blank is still left for the word Ballot, which may be inserted after church to-morrow, with or without a "permissive" limitation; and it may at this moment remain to be

determined whether a Tory Government shall or shall not go for universal suffrage. We have such confidence in the versatility of Mr. DISRAELI's ability that we have no doubt at five minutes' notice he could open with equal facility anything from a Turnpike Bill up to a Revolution. The only question is, whether he is to begin with the Tory exordium and end with the Radical peroration, or *vice versa*—whether, in fact, he is to open the Commonplace Book at the title "Great Landed Interest," or at the heading "Inalienable Rights of the People." We never exactly know whether the Clown is going to knock Pantaloon head over heels, or to engage him in some friendly confederacy for their mutual profit and amusement. For our part, we confess our sympathies are rather with Pantaloon, whom, though somewhat gullible and slow, we have known from our youth to be a respectable though misguided public servant. Mr. DISRAELI may "bonnet" the policeman as much as he pleases, but we cannot to this day see the steady-going, simple-minded, confiding old Country "party" robbed, jumped upon, and then turned adrift, without a strong sense of the outrageous injustice of the transaction. There is no reason whatever why Mr. DISRAELI should not play light comedy, high tragedy, and broad farce, all in the same night. But to see the heavy fathers, and the crusty, but wealthy and ultimately generous, old uncles of the political drama put to do the light comic business, is a melancholy spectacle to any well-constituted mind. There is a story told of LISTRON's first and last essay in tragedy. He thought he could play the *premier amoureux* in *Romeo and Juliet*. The piece went on pretty well, till Juliet exclaims, "Oh Romeo, Romeo, wherefore art thou Romeo?" Then the audience could restrain themselves no longer, and the curtain fell in the midst of inextinguishable laughter. What shall we do when Mr. HENLEY appears on the floor in the new part of the "Democratic Chicken" or the "Tower Hamlets Smasher?"

It is difficult to place much confidence in the sagacity or discernment of politicians who have so grossly misjudged public opinion as to imagine that they could best prolong their term of office by avowing their readiness to act as a board of sub-officials to carry out the views of Mr. BRIGHT. By this time it is to be hoped that they have discovered the full extent of their blunder. Perhaps they have found that, if they cannot afford the expensive luxury of keeping any principles of their own, they may at least hire themselves out to do the jobs of persons who will involve them in less unpopularity and discredit. They may deliver themselves from the embarrassment of the re-distribution of seats by the very simple expedient of confining their plan of disfranchisement within the very narrow limits which justice and expediency prescribe. To disfranchise boroughs without any valid and substantial grounds is voluntarily to build up a wall against which to knock their own heads. There is always a good reason for a thing which exists—it is not always equally easy to find a justification for that which it is proposed to substitute in its place. The controversy between the respective numerical claims of the counties and of the great towns is one which public opinion has no desire to see raised; nor is it one which any prudent politician would seek superfluously to press on. To take seats from places which are notoriously dependent on the influence of particular individuals, and to distribute them fairly among the more important counties and a few towns which are at present wholly unrepresented, will satisfy the whole justice of the case and the exigency of the occasion. Parliament does not demand, and public opinion will not sanction, a wholesale scheme of superfluous appropriation and redistribution in a system which the general voice of the country has clearly pronounced to be substantially fair and equal.

The question of the suffrage is one much more difficult of solution. It is clearly impossible that any measure of Reform can fail to embrace a considerable extension of the franchise. Her MAJESTY's Government have chosen to impose upon themselves the task of discovering a plan more in accordance with the principles of the Constitution, and more likely to be satisfactory in its practical operation, than that which for nearly thirty years has been found compatible with the reform of all real social abuses, and the redress of all proved political grievances. In the absence of any direct proof that the present constituencies do not practically represent the various interests of the country—an assertion in the demonstration of which Mr. BRIGHT has exhausted all the resources of his fertile imagination in vain—we suppose that the Government will be content to found their proposition on some clear and

intelligible conception of that principle which is known by the name of the "eternal fitness of things." It may be urged with a good deal of plausibility that the 101. suffrage rests upon no immutable constitutional truth; but we would venture to suggest to the profound politicians whose schemes of reform are based upon abstract reasonings, to consider a little whether any proposal which they are in a position to advance is in the least degree more defensible than the system which they are disposed to destroy. We very much doubt whether the metaphysical Reformer will find any rest for the sole of his foot short of universal suffrage. But then it is said, putting the "Rights of Man" view of the question aside, we want, as a practical object, to introduce the operative class to a share of electoral power. For our part, we admit the legitimacy of the object, and we have no fear of the result if the avowed intention were honestly and in fact carried out. But the real effect of the schemes which have been hitherto proposed for merely lowering the line so as to admit the operative class, will not be to give them a share, but the whole, of the political power of the country. These projectors, while they pretend to do one thing which is ostensibly just, and which may be politically safe, are, in fact, meditating a work which is radically unfair in principle, and which in its operation must be in the highest degree dangerous. The Marylebone election has come just in time to afford a practical illustration of the probable working of the "Brummagem ticket." There are some things which flash conviction on the minds of men more clearly and more rapidly than any process of reasoning, or any laboured argument. Eight EDWIN JAMESSES for each of the six metropolitan constituencies, is a prospect which cannot fail to captivate the imagination, and commend itself to the judgment of Parliament and of the country.

LORD MALMESBURY AND PORTUGAL.

THE papers relating to the *Charles et Georges* which have now been laid before Parliament complete the materials on which an opinion is to be formed on the conduct of the Foreign Secretary in this most unfortunate business. These papers, in our opinion, show conclusively that Lord MALMESBURY deserted Portugal, although convinced she was in the right—that he yielded to the bullying tone and threatening attitude of France—that the French Government descended to a most unworthy subterfuge, and deceived the English Cabinet on a vital point—and lastly, that it is a long time since any despatches have been published revealing such vacillation, such ignorance, and such conspicuous weakness both of thought and language in a Foreign Secretary of England. We may console ourselves, however, by the reflection that in a constitutional country the blundering despatches of an inefficient Minister are not the final tests by which the conduct of the country itself is to be judged. The real answer to the remonstrances and arguments of Portugal has not yet been sent. It remains to be given by the House of Commons.

The point at which to begin these papers in order to see exactly what the English Government did, is the despatch of Lord COWLEY to Lord MALMESBURY, dated October 3rd, 1858, in which the English Government is informed that the Cabinet of the EMPEROR had just decided to take up the matter in a much more serious way, and to put the quarrel on the ground that Portugal had virtually accused France of conniving at the Slave-trade. On the 4th, Mr. HOWARD telegraphed to Lord MALMESBURY that two French line-of-battle ships had arrived in the Tagus to support the demands of the French Government; and the next day Lord MALMESBURY heard from Paris that the French Government declined to submit its differences with Portugal to arbitration. Lord MALMESBURY at first behaved with proper firmness. He telegraphed on the 6th to Paris, instructing Lord COWLEY to "deprecate strongly" any hostile proceedings by France against Portugal; and on the same day he wrote to the Admiralty, requesting that a British force might be sent at once to the Tagus. But something occurred between the 6th and the 9th, which does not of course appear on the face of the despatches, but which made Lord MALMESBURY change his mind. He got frightened, and determined to yield to France and abandon Portugal. On the 9th, he suddenly telegraphed to Lisbon, stating that the Portuguese Government "had better drop the prosecution." What he evidently meant was, that Portugal had better yield to force; but he feared that, if he said this explicitly, the French Government would take umbrage, and he had therefore to invent some

ground on which the advice to yield could be placed. The ground he selected was the most unfortunate that could have been chosen. Mr. HOWARD was instructed to say that the Portuguese Government had better drop the prosecution, "if there were informalities during or after the seizure."

It must be remembered that the *Charles et Georges* had been condemned by a legal court, and that the captain had appealed to a higher tribunal. The very point which the Court of Appeal had to decide was, whether there had been any informalities invalidating the seizure; and Portugal complained that France was interfering by force to prevent a legal question from being decided by the proper municipal tribunal of Portugal. This was the great wrong done to our ally—this was the violation of international law which we were called on to resent. All questions of informality belonged to the decision of the Court to which the captain had appealed. The Portuguese Government stated over and over again that they had nothing to do with a question of law pending before their courts. The judges must decide, not the Cabinet. And in every phrase used by Lord MALMESBURY there is some mistake. There was no prosecution to drop. The Government were not proceeding against the captain—it was the captain who was appealing to a Portuguese tribunal. But Lord MALMESBURY was not content with merely advising concession "if there were informalities." He was determined to save the Portuguese Government the trouble of discovering what was the best informality to acknowledge and act upon. Accordingly, a week later he wrote a despatch to Mr. HOWARD—a duplicate of which was sent to Lord COWLEY—stating that it "appeared to her MAJESTY'S Government that Portugal, without any sacrifice of her dignity and rights, may admit that the French delegate and captain were negotiating for labourers with the Sheik of Matabane, believing him to be an independent chief." The English representatives at Lisbon and Paris would naturally try to make the best of a despatch sent them by the Foreign Secretary. But this was too much. Lord COWLEY wrote a most polite answer, stating that he deeply regretted Lord MALMESBURY's instructions must "remain in abeyance" (such are the euphemisms of diplomacy), because the French captain had throughout acknowledged that he knew the Sheik was a Portuguese subject, and Matabane was clearly within the Portuguese territories. Mr. HOWARD wrote to say that, in communicating Lord MALMESBURY's despatch to the Court of Lisbon, he had ventured to remark that Portugal must look rather to the spirit than the letter of Lord MALMESBURY's communication. The spirit evidently signified that the Portuguese must yield, by acknowledging an informality to have vitiated the whole proceedings; and that, if they did not like the particular informality which Lord MALMESBURY had been kind enough to invent, they might invent one for themselves. Mr. HOWARD endeavoured to help them; and, as a more tenable informality, he suggested that the French captain might have had reason to suppose that the Sheik had authority to sell negroes, as the captain stated that he had in his possession a document in which the Sheik professed to sell them by permission of the Governor of Mozambique. The Portuguese replied that this was impossible—first, because there was every reason to suppose that this document was a fabrication, as the captain had never produced it either to the officer who seized the *Charles et Georges*, or at his trial; and secondly, because the captain and delegate were both aware that all enlistment of negroes from Portuguese territories was absolutely forbidden, and, as a matter of fact, this particular Sheik had been expressly warned that he must not trade with foreign vessels. But although the Portuguese entered very successfully into the details, they stuck firmly to their main point—that it was for the legal tribunals to judge of such informalities, which were the subject of a pending appeal. Their grievance was that France would not let a Portuguese Court decide on matters which had been properly and legitimately submitted to it.

Lord MALMESBURY was not, however, at all easy about what he had done. Even a weak Englishman, dealing with questions far above his abilities, cannot go to sleep quite comfortably with the thought on his mind that he has humbled his country at the bidding of France. In discussing the matter with the Tuilleries, there was none of these absurd subterfuges about informalities. Lord COWLEY stated expressly to Count WALEWSKI that the opinions of the English and French Governments were "diametrically opposite," and strongly urged that the matter should be submitted to the mediation of a third Power. For a

long time France refused; but at last it was agreed on by the French Government and the Portuguese Minister at Paris, with the privity of Lord COWLEY, that a proposal should be made to the Portuguese Government to release the captain and give up the ship, on condition that the whole question of the legality of the seizure and the principles involved in it should be referred to the decision of the King of the NETHERLANDS. But when the final instructions of Count WALEWSKI arrived at Lisbon in a despatch addressed to the Marquis DE LISLE, it appeared that the proposal which the French Government made was something entirely different. Count WALEWSKI expressly declared that the French Government would not hear of referring the question of principle to mediation—they would only refer the amount of indemnity to be paid. This evidently meant that the French were to be declared to be in the right; and all that Portugal could possibly obtain was a decision that, under the circumstances, she ought not to be called on to pay largely for wrong-doing. This was a mere fraud on the English Government, and subsequently Count WALEWSKI was taxed by Lord COWLEY with having entirely changed the terms of the proposal. Count WALEWSKI replied that the question of indemnity would really have raised the question of principle; because, if the mediator had decided that Portugal should pay nothing, he would virtually decide that she was in the right. He must have been very sure of the long-suffering and tameness of the English Government when he ventured on trifling with them so grossly. He had instructed the French representative to state that the question of principle must be distinctly understood to be decided in favour of France, or that "the further conduct of the affair would be left in the hands of Rear-Admiral LAUVAUD." Curiously enough, Lord MALMESBURY never sent Mr. HOWARD any instructions with reference to this proposal for mediation, although Lord COWLEY wrote on the 13th to advise the English Government of the suggested solution of the difficulty; but on the 16th he telegraphed to Mr. HOWARD some further instructions about his favourite informalities. We are at a loss to understand why this despatch—the last Mr. HOWARD received before giving the answer of England to Portugal—is not included among the Parliamentary Papers now published. Mr. HOWARD had nothing to guide him but a perception that Lord MALMESBURY had some very hazy views about the Sheikh of Matabane, and a very clear intention to abandon Portugal. Accordingly, when the Marquis DE LOULE stated that he must now yield to force, but that before doing so he should like to know on paper what England had to say, Mr. HOWARD felt justified in recommending him to yield, because, "if the proposals in question were rejected, more serious demands might be put forward, to which his Most Faithful MAJESTY'S Government would no doubt eventually be 'obliged to yield,'" and Lord MALMESBURY subsequently approved of Mr. HOWARD'S language. Translated out of the language of diplomacy, the question and answer are very simple. Portugal asked England whether, as an ancient ally and the cause of the present trouble, she would help her to resist force, and England replied that really France was so very strong.

The tragedy ends with a farce, and the papers come to a most comical conclusion. Lord MALMESBURY writes in a great fuss to Lisbon, to ask how it could possibly be that the KING'S Speech did not contain any expressions of gratitude to England for the part she had taken towards Portugal. That Lord MALMESBURY should have expected to be thanked is the oddest notion, and is scarcely conceivable even to persons who have got used to his despatches, and have seen him at one time sinking into his Matabane quagmire, and at another time soaring into eloquence about the "immortal truths" established by the twenty-third protocol of the Treaty of Paris. What could he possibly be thanked for? The only new element he had contributed to the discussion was the suggestion that an Arab nigger-driver, hanging about the neighbourhood of Mozambique, was really a great Prince and an independent Sovereign. Surely, if the other points in the advice of England had been alluded to, and the KING had expressly thanked England for letting him know that France was irresistible, the thanks would have been generally considered ironical. Whatever we may do to correct Lord MALMESBURY'S mistake, we do not expect Portugal to thank us. It is we who ought to thank Portugal for trusting to us, obeying us, incurring trouble and undergoing insult in attempting to suppress the Slave-trade at our request,

in the way we had recommended, in a case brought to her notice by an English official. This is the right and the only tolerable ending of the affair. A tribute must be paid to the honourable and gallant conduct of Portugal, and to her unflinching faithfulness to the English alliance. We need not, in discussing this affair, trouble ourselves much about the Slave-trade, or the system of French emigration, or French policy, or the DERBY Ministry; but we must set ourselves right with Portugal and the world, and let it be understood that these are not such despatches as English statesmen ordinarily write, and that to abandon an old ally in the hour of need is not the real wish of the people of England.

CHURCH RATES.

IT is somewhat difficult to discuss a measure like the new Church-rate Bill the day after it has been published; and when on all sides there is manifested a desire to do the best which circumstances admit, it is ungenerous to be over critical. We may at once say, therefore, that if the machinery of Mr. WALPOLE'S Bill should be found sufficient to carry out the principles on which it is grounded, it will be a fortunate solution of a difficulty which has baffled the ingenuity of statesmen, ranging in political calibre from Sir ROBERT PEEL to the right reverend legislators who once tried their hands on this legislative *crux*. There is this antecedent recommendation of the measure—that it is a compromise, and a compromise between interests of the most powerful nature. On the one hand, there is the interest of feeling and sentiment equally divided. There is the strong, and in many, if not in most cases, the conscientious, objection of the Dissenter to contribute to the support of a religion which he dislikes and distrusts, and the equally strong and equally conscientious objection of the Churchman to be prevented, by an enactment which he feels to be tyrannical, from maintaining the parish church and parochial services by a fair, equal, and cheap assessment. Here is feeling against feeling—conscience against conscience—the point of honour against the point of honour; and, we say it with all deference to Mr. HADFIELD, we do not consider a conscientious Churchman a thing so impossible as he is pleased to infer. There is no monopoly of conscientious scruples on the part of the Meeting House as against the Steeple House. And besides this conflict of consciences and points of honour, there is the conflict of principles to be solved and reconciled. Whatever is done, that one great principle of the extant Constitution—the freedom of Dissent, with all its logical consequences—must be maintained; and so must another great principle be preserved from assault—the principle that corporate property is not to be taken away upon the plea of individual dislike to its existence.

The situation, then, is of conscience against conscience, feeling against feeling, the rights of religious liberty against the rights of property. The problem is to reconcile these things; and the Government measure proposes at least to leave full and elastic play to all these elements. But is it in the nature of things that they can be reconciled? Much credit is due to the high-minded and generous chivalry which attempts this fusion of asymptotes, but we must as yet doubt the possibility of success. The danger of Mr. WALPOLE'S measure is that it aims at too much. It appears to provide an ingenious and conciliatory remedy where neither ingenuity nor conciliation is in all cases required—i. e., in those parishes where Church-rates are formally levied and cheerfully paid. In places where they are contested, it leaves things much as they are. Its very fulness and comprehensiveness make its success doubtful. Just as in politics he who makes it his business to represent all political principles comes to a dead-lock, so, in a conflict of duties, he who tries to do everything fails in all. What we doubt is whether the measure will work. For there is not a solid theoretical objection to any of its main objects. It is just and proper that the Mortmain Laws should be so far relaxed as that a landowner may, if he pleases, encumber his property in the shape of a rent-charge, or that he may, as in the case of the land-tax, redeem an annual payment by a single payment. It is only common decency that if a man, on conscientious grounds, declines to contribute to a fund, he should be discharged from the obligation or privilege of interfering in its expenditure. It is, as a moral consideration, indisputable, that so long as the law stands as at present—combining a legal obligation with

an inability to enforce that obligation—parties who once decline to undertake the obligation should have the benefit of second thoughts, and the opportunity of the *locus penitentie* to review a hasty or prejudiced opinion. So that we can take no valid objection either to the proposed commutation or to the suggested release (apart from the terms in which it is proposed to give it) of Dissenters upon conscientious grounds, or to the proposition which permits the attempt to reimpose Church-rates in parishes where a rate has been refused. That is, we can take no objection to the general principle of these several portions of the Government measure. Still less can we object to the emphatic and universal condemnation of the attempt—now, we believe consigned to oblivion—to displace Church-rates by pew-rents.

All we have to ask is that the measure should really work—on the probabilities of which consummation we reserve our opinion. The one common aim—and it is the only one sought by all parties—is to put an end to social divisions. For this the Churchman is asked, and is bound, to make sacrifices; and it is for the purpose, real or alleged, of allaying heartburnings that the Dissenter clamours. If this object is not secured, the Queen's Printer and the Statutes at Large will be the only gainers by the proposed measure. Mr. WALPOLE'S Bill—which appears in the compact form of seventeen clauses—will in that case be an elegant monument of good feeling, and a beautiful example of patriotic piety; but it will be nothing more. What its advocates are bound to show, and we trust that they will show (and we are certainly not prepared to believe, still less to hope, that they will be unable to show it) is that it will do the one work, which alone is worth half a farthing—put an end to strife and disunion. The commutation, be it observed, is—and it could scarcely be otherwise—voluntary. It is not proposed—and in places where property is subdivided, and individual payments are therefore infinitesimally small, it would be perhaps impossible—to compel the owners of property to enfranchise it. And where some payments are commuted, and others left voluntary, it will be for the advocates of the measure to show that any state of things appreciably different from the present will exist even in parishes which, as regards the maintenance of Church-rates, may be considered the most favourably circumstanced—those in the country districts; while, in town parishes, it is not intended to innovate on the present state of things.

We do not say that there are not many inducements for Churchmen to come forward, perhaps very generally, for commutation. Apart from the fact that they are, as the recent returns show, most largely interested in the settlement, and that the general good feeling and loyalty to the Church, if not on religious, yet on social grounds, will impel them to some extraordinary efforts, we rest more upon the landowner's interest in the question. What induces the copyholder to buy off his quit rent will influence the landowner to buy off a precarious payment. Property, no doubt, would be increased in value were Church-rates universally commuted; and in a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence (we say it with all respect), we had rather trust to the squire's sense of his own interest, and to his agent's shrewd advice, than—taking it at the highest—to his affectionate regard for the Church and its temples. The general acceptability of the redemption powers must be proved; and, above all, we must have some guarantee that the settlement is a settlement, and not a stop-gap. We do not want the Liberation Society to declare itself in permanence—we must take away all pretence, once and for ever, for the exercise of the microscopic ingenuity of grievance-mongers. We must, at whatever sacrifice, prevent the growth of a new breed of factitious martyrs. The Thorogoods of the future must be rendered impossible. And it is quite certain that there are Dissenters who would like at least one *tentaculum* of the old cancer to remain, on the chance—no doubtful one—of its reviving in the old, angry, sloughing sore.

TITLES TO LAND.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL will confer a great benefit on the community by securing the titles of purchasers of land, and it is generally acknowledged that he would have defeated his own object if he had interfered with the complicated dispositions of property which are permitted by the existing law. It is desirable that the attention of Parliament should be confined to one improvement at a time, but the numerous body which either has property or hopes to acquire it will do well to consider whether the artificial

limitations of ownership which prevail are either necessary or convenient. An Estates Court, with its registry of transferable titles, while it secures and simplifies one important class of transactions, bears to the law of settlement and entail the same relation which exists between a bank of issue and a commercial code. Many millions of personality which may at this moment be transferred by a stroke of the pen, are nevertheless tied up by legal contrivances in such a manner as to deprive every partial or successive holder of the largest possible amount of benefit. The evil is still more universal in its application to land; for while few hereditary proprietors enjoy more than a fractional interest in their estates, it is notorious that even purchasers are often only converting a temporary and equitable possession of personality into a corresponding tenancy of land. When the proposed register of titles is established, the name of the ostensible owner will not be found once in twenty entries to represent the legal control of the land. No prudent legislator would attempt to put an end to the entire system of trusts, or in other words to annihilate all prospective right of dealing with real and personal property; but the advantages of an almost unbounded license of settlement and entail may reasonably be subjected to examination. The Government Bill, although it will confer on trustees the same power of disposing of land which they now possess in the case of stock or of shares, in no way relaxes the sanctions by which conscience and the Court of Chancery restrain them from all exercise of discretion.

Many errors in legislation arise from forgetfulness of the axiom that a whole is not greater than its parts. As the extension of the Parliamentary franchise leaves the collective power of the constituencies unaltered, so a new regulation for the enjoyment of property can only affect the proportions of ownership, and the mode in which its rights are exercised. If the original holder insists on being master of his estate for half-a-century after his death, his descendants and successors are mulcted of their enjoyment exactly to the extent in which their testator has thought fit to encroach on the freedom of posterity. A THELLUSSON Act for the prevention of perpetuities emancipates successive generations as far as it imposes restraints on the prophetic caprices of those who went before them. The power of any man to deal with anything beyond the term of his own life is evidently a mere creation of positive law. In the absence of a system of entail, the infant brings nothing into the world, although, through the authorized ingenuity of conveyancers, the dying man is enabled to carry a great deal with him out. It is true that his posthumous possessions are rather negative than positive; but the right of cutting a tree or of granting a building-lease which is withheld from the living son, may be supposed by an easy analogy to reside in the defunct father. The system of primogeniture, which is believed by foreigners and by Mr. LOCKE KING to prevail in England, would in many respects be the reverse of the existing state of things. A tenancy in fee-simple, with a compulsory rule of succession, would remove all those checks on alienation which it is the object of family parchments to establish. Powers of testamentary disposal extending beyond the immediate operation of the devise necessarily withdraw property from circulation, and diminish the completeness of the subsequent ownership. Experience proves that the desire of possessors to perpetuate their own control is practically measured by the margin of discretion which is from time to time allowed by law. The THELLUSSON and BRIDGEWATER wills were scarcely exceptional instances of the morbid providence and selfish vanity which too often beset testators. The temptation is by no means confined to the territorial potentates, whose caprices are usually restrained by general custom and by family tradition. Lawyers are well aware that old ladies take a peculiar pleasure in tormenting the objects of their testamentary bounty by elaborate limitations bearing on all possible contingencies, and ending not unfrequently in a conditional reversion to some charitable or sectarian institution. A large class of the community finds consolation for the shortness of life's fitful fever in the hope that its fuss and fidget will continue to operate beyond the grave.

Although it is desirable to bear in mind the principle and origin of legal dispositions, the practical question of the extent of limitation is merely one of expediency and detail. The general feeling of society in England is undoubtedly favourable to arrangements which give permanence and stability to families, and there are many reasons against re-

stricting the power of a testator to the first devolution of property under the terms of his will. In many cases it would not even be for the interest of a life-tenant to dispute the validity of a restriction which may probably have been the indispensable condition of any gift whatever to himself. It is at least certain that the Legislature would not be disposed to prohibit settlements and entails, although the evils which result from the present operation of the law are felt in almost every family. The prospective power of owners extends for twenty-one years beyond a life in being, and it follows that a will may often regulate the enjoyment of property for three-quarters of a century after the death of a testator. The probable duration of the trust of course depends on the ages of the different members of the family, and on the number of persons entitled in reversion or remainder. In the simple case of a devise to a son and to his unborn issue, the limitation is in accordance with opinion and custom, and in some instances it is useful in securing the life-tenant against the consequences of his own imprudence. The arrangement becomes more complicated when the successive estates are limited to several children and their respective descendants; and, if grandchildren are already living, the ultimate enfranchisement of the property is postponed for another generation. Even in ordinary cases, the limitation of estates to five or six brothers and sisters and their respective issue interferes for an unreasonable time with the complete exercise of ownership. If the will is drawn in such a manner as to create a succession of life estates, no absolute proprietorship can arise until all the specified contingencies have been exhausted by the death perhaps of thirty or forty individuals. If the estate falls to the eldest son and to his issue, it is nevertheless tied up as long as any of the remaining children of the testator are alive, and possibly for twenty-one years after the death of the survivor. The inconvenience of doubtful titles which has often arisen from the multiplication of life-tenancies will probably be obviated by the operation of the new Bill; but the hardship of imperfect enjoyment and of interminable trusts can only be relieved by additional legislation against approximate perpetuities.

A lease for three selected lives is generally considered worth fifty years' purchase, and there is nothing to prevent a capricious testator from extending his imaginary exercise of ownership to a much longer period. An estate might be left to the surviving member of the great family of Smith, with remainder to the house of Jones, and to the latest-born infant of either name for twenty-one years after the extinction of the present generation. In simpler cases, even if the reversioners are willing to surrender claims which they may know to be practically valueless, it generally happens that some of the number are subject to disabilities of infancy or coverture, and the great and perhaps necessary severity of the Courts of Equity compels trustees to restrain themselves closely to the letter of their authority.

There may be considerable difficulty in devising a remedy for the evil without undue restriction on the power of testators, but it would not be impossible to impose an absolute limit of time on the operation of all instruments for the disposal of property. It might also be enacted that a will or settlement should be satisfied by the occurrence of a certain number of the contingencies for which it might provide; or a compound system might be framed for the extension of a limited estate into fee simple, after several successions, or at the end of a definite term. A thoughtful and judicious testator would not seriously wish to tie up his property beyond the majority of a successor in the second generation from himself, but he may be tempted to exercise to the utmost a power which he may suppose to be reasonable because he finds it to be legal. Almost all complications of title arise from the comprehensive ingenuity of conveyancers in anticipating the possible history of families, and although purchasers may hereafter be safe if they have relied on the register, restrictions on the complete ownership of property will prevent innumerable sales. If present enjoyment must necessarily depend on the arrangements of the past, it is at least desirable to shorten the average interval between the framing of the original scheme and its final operation.

THE USE OF STEAM NAVIES IN WAR.

A WRITER in the last number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, who has a right to treat the subject—who was once the first man in the French navy, and who, in the years of altered fortune, has come to think much more kindly of this country, against which he once wrote a very alarming pamphlet—has examined with

great ability and abundant knowledge the question of the effect which the introduction of steam into European navies will have on future wars. The expedition to Sebastopol formed, in fact, a new epoch in the history of war. Familiar as is the history of that memorable expedition, it is all the more necessary to remember how novel such an undertaking was. Sixty thousand English, French, and Turks were safely carried through a week's voyage, and were then landed in a few hours on a point of the coast which was necessarily undefended. There is no possibility of guarding against the landing of an invading force if there is any considerable extent of open coast. The enemy cannot tell where the landing is to take place. The Russians were not sure that Sebastopol was the point of attack until the landing was actually begun. Although Sebastopol had been on the tongue of every one in France and England for many weeks previously, yet the Russians could never be sure—and, as a matter of fact, were disinclined to believe—that Odessa was not the real point for debarkation. When the point of landing is fixed on, the landing itself is shown, by the precedent of 1854, to be almost a certainty; for if the ships can come within range, they can keep off all opposition by the enormous superiority of their artillery. The same precedent also showed the effect of troops by land acting in conjunction with a fleet at sea, now that vessels can go exactly where it is necessary, without waiting for favourable winds. The Sebastopol expedition had, however, one very weak point—the deficiency of cavalry. Suppose, therefore, that instead of 60,000 men, there are 50,000 men and a proportionate quantity of horses. There can be nothing easier for France than to provide such a force. She can also provide the means of transport—not as yet, perhaps, without encroaching on the accommodations of her ships of war—but practically she could easily find ships to convey a force even superior to that which landed in the Crimea. What is the use which France can make of the new arm of strength which steam has thus provided for her?

It is better to take the simplest case, and suppose France fighting single-handed against one of the other Great Powers of Europe. Were this Power Prussia or Austria, the effect would be great and immediate. Prussia in the Baltic, and Austria in the Adriatic, have each a long extent of coast open to the attack of an expeditionary force sent by sea, and yet neither has a navy at all proportionate to its military importance. Nor is it possible that, after war broke out, they could form a navy to protect their coasts; for although a man of genius may improvise an army, a navy must always be the slow growth of time. Railways are, of course, scarcely any protection; for however well they are managed, and however skilfully for strategic purposes they may have been laid down, they cannot bring up men, horses, and guns so as to compete with a naval squadron landing fifteen thousand men an hour under cover of guns of an enormous calibre. The experience of the Crimea shows what would follow. The French expeditionary force would march two days after landing, and would rest on the most sure and solid base of operations—the sea—which would secure it a continual supply of provisions and reinforcements, and relieve it of its sick and wounded. It might thence penetrate into the heart of the enemy's country, taking in the rear the vast chain of fortresses which have been erected against France "since the misfortunes of the first Empire," and cutting across the network of railways which the German Powers have constructed quite as much with a view to hostilities with France as from a wish to facilitate the communication of different localities in time of peace. The writer asks his readers to call before their imagination the probable effect of such a movement. The invading army would seriously embarrass the communications of the enemy—might march on his capital if it were unguarded, or raise the population if it happened, as is the case of Italy, to be disaffected. The invading troops would maintain themselves pleasantly and cheaply while they held their ground; and if a superior force were at last collected to meet them, they would have nothing to do but fall back to the coast and retire under the shelter of their ship-guns.

In the present state of European affairs—when war may be an affair of days rather than of weeks or months, if England does not exert herself very resolutely to prevent it—the point of the greatest immediate interest is the bearing of the remarks of the writer on an Italian campaign. Obviously, there may be combinations unheard-of hitherto, and military manœuvres of quite a new character, when a general leading a first-rate army on the front attack can reckon on placing a second army at any place he wishes, and on any day he wishes, in the enemy's rear. The expeditionary force landing on the Adriatic coast might also be assisted by a flotilla of gun-boats which would penetrate the rivers of Northern Italy, and, while protected themselves by the heavy guns they would carry, might tow barges that would take supplies where most needed, and form excellent materials for bridges, if the army wished to cross a river. In Italy we have also to look to the moral as well as the physical strength of the invading force. The inhabitants of the country, who might be cowed if the Austrians were only attacked on the lines of their gigantic fortresses, would be likely to take heart and break into open revolt if they were conscious of being backed by a French fleet—if they saw the French flag flying on their rivers, and knew that French troops had reached a neighbouring town. Obviously, the use of a steam navy is greatly to the advantage of France in a contest with Austria in Italy, if only the general that commands the whole expedition is up to his

work. But in proportion as the scale of war grows greater, the risk grows greater; and a general who made a mistake with an expeditionary force, and used it improperly, might only be offering up a very grand sacrifice to the enemy. In every other, or almost every other, department of life, the office of the individual grows less, and responsibility and power are more and more thrown on bodies or masses of men. But in warlike operations, the office of the Commander-in-Chief grows more and more important. The perfection of military organization is to produce a very splendid machine, all the parts of which are sure to obey the same impulse when once given. To give this impulse rightly becomes increasingly difficult in proportion as the works of the machinery are more complex, and the calculated effect is more sure to take place. If we begin to speculate on the chances of an Italian campaign, where the advantages of the combatants are so equal, we are forced to end by saying that we must wait to see which side has the best leader. If there is real military genius on either side, and only on one, that side is sure to have the best of it.

The author proceeds to speak of England; and we have no reason to complain of the tone in which we are now spoken of by one whose name is chiefly known to Englishmen as an adversary and threatener of England. He is evidently sincere in his declaration that he "should regard as an immense evil a political necessity that should force France to turn its arms against a people so faithful to the sentiment of the dignity of man, so wisely and so firmly attached to its institutions, which cause its greatness and awaken our admiration." He easily proves that England could do little to attack France, and not much to attack Algeria. The part of England would be to defend herself, and wear France out. All speculations about the use of steam in war are uncertain, but the writer coincides with those who think that the introduction of steam into naval warfare is a disadvantage to this country. The more ships are made machines—the more naval battles are a mere question of the superior weight and efficiency of gunnery—the less England gains by the hereditary aptitude of her population for a seafaring life. At present, too, the organization of her naval force is not so closely in accordance with the demands of steam warfare as that of France. She cannot calculate on the certainty of having, at a given time, a sufficient number of trained and practised seamen. It may therefore happen that the English Channel Fleet may be worsted; and if it were got out of the way, an expeditionary force from France could land where it liked. That England can, if she pleases, make her Channel Fleet so formidable that no expedition would have a chance, the author fully allows; but there is considerable danger lest the tardiness of Government, the shifting currents of popular interest, and the dead-alive nature of our naval system, may at some moment leave the Channel practically unguarded, and then an invasion of England is more than a probability. We must remember that no defences on shore, either of fortresses or of troops, could prevent the French landing if once they had command of the Channel; but it is possible, and we may hope not very unlikely, that, though with great loss and suffering to ourselves, they might be held in check long enough for us to regain the mastery of the Channel.

We cannot, however, regard, nor does the writer in the *Deus Mondes* regard, these single conflicts as very probable. A war between France and Austria, or between France and England, will be almost sure to be really a general war; and in that case the gain of France by the introduction of steam is much diminished. For if England were in alliance with one of the great German Powers, she would be able to execute the manœuvre of a joint military and naval expedition against France more readily, and on a larger scale, than would be in the power of France. Her money, her ships, and her sailors would be really dangerous to France if they received the addition of several hundred thousand fighting men. When we get to think of war on so vast a scale, we are only carried further and further into a vast overflowing abyss of human woe, and the more heartily we long for any peace that is not dishonourable. The writer ends his article by a touching account of his sensations as he wandered over the battle-fields of the Crimea after the war had ended. Even the monuments of the dead were already crumbling into dust, and their names had been swallowed up in oblivion. On clearing away the weeds that had overgrown a tombstone, he found an inscription dedicating it to all the officers of a particular regiment that had died in the Crimea. Even the glory of war is as saddening as its calamities. These brave men were not thought of by name; they had but been regarded as belonging to a body; and their glory belonged not to themselves, but to a regiment. Even that glory, such as it was, had been confided to the keeping of a stone over which, within a year or two after their death, wild flowers were creeping, and long grass matting itself together.

CONFOUND OUR ENEMIES.

THE increased interest which all classes of society take in questions affecting religion is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable phenomena of the present day. It is perhaps unavoidable, but it is not the less and that it should be so frequently accompanied by the revival of that odious spirit of fanaticism which has done more than any other cause whatever to injure and discredit every creed with which it has been allowed to associate itself. Obvious as it is to observe that the

use and abuse of a thing are almost inseparable, the true principle on which the connexion of religion and fanaticism reposes is very imperfectly understood. Religion, in the sense in which the word is now generally used—that is, the love, fear, and habitual worship of God—is so obviously a good thing, and, indeed, so clearly one of the main props of human society, that it appears to many persons impious to suggest that, under any circumstances whatever, any of the essential elements which it involves can be injurious to mankind. This, however, is not the case. One thing which is implied in all sincere religion is capable, if it stands alone, of being a greater curse and scourge to the human race than war, pestilence, or famine; nor need we wonder at this, for it is, as the New Testament tells us, the special characteristic of devils. A strong belief in the spiritual world, without love to purify, knowledge to guide, or conscience to direct it—a belief which is the slave of every blind and furious passion that can sway the heart of man to evil—is a temper which may well make not only the believer but the observer tremble. A sensual man is an object of contempt and pity, but a human devil only escapes the first sentiment by forfeiting all claims to the last. The great qualities of human nature, which, when rightly guided, are its crowning glory, are precisely those which produce the most awful misery if they are misdirected. Madness, the most dreadful of all diseases, implies, not only intellect, but intellectual culture and sensibility. Love misplaced is the greatest curse that can be incurred; and a keen perception of the existence of a world that lies behind sense, space, and time—which is the distinctive attribute of man in this world—is an attribute which he may have to share with devils in the next.

For these reasons it is with the deepest anxiety that we see on every hand symptoms of the spread of the reckless and abominable temper which we have denounced—a temper which will provoke a bitter hostility against all religious belief, and a rebellion against all morality, as surely as fever produces exhaustion. No one can undertake the melancholy task of reading, week by week, what are called the religious newspapers (and their religion seems good for little but the function assigned to it in the proverbial line of Lucretius, the terrible truth of which has engraved it in the memory of the world), without perceiving that large and powerful factions, ready to compass sea and land to make one proselyte, have renounced in their hearts the principles of mutual forbearance and toleration, and are straining in the leash which the existing constitution of society happily puts round their necks, longing to fly at each other's throats and drink each other's blood. The savage bigotry of the *Tablet* and the *Record* is a standing disgrace to a Christian nation; and the apparent increase of the temper of which those papers are the most violent exponents, is one of the most momentous signs of the times.

The special example which has led us to make these general observations is a paragraph which was published in the *Record* yesterday week, certainly without disapproval, and we should suppose, from the prominent position which it occupied in the paper, with sympathy and approbation. It was as follows:—

PROPOSED GENERAL UNION FOR PRAYER.

We have received a circular issued in Scotland by "The Society for Promoting United Prayer for the Revival of Religion," which is stated to be "composed of ministers and members of numerous Protestant churches:—" "It is proposed that there shall be an Eighth General Union for Prayer, to continue for eight days, from the morning of Monday the 14th of March, till the evening of Monday the 21st; that on each day some portion of the hours from seven till ten in the morning, and from eight till eleven in the evening, be set apart for special private prayer; that the subject of the day be referred to in the family devotions; and that in every town and rural parish there shall be, if possible, three meetings for prayer—say, first on Tuesday the 15th; second on Thursday the 17th; third on Sabbath the 20th, or Monday the 21st. And, as formerly, it is respectfully requested that Protestant pastors on Sabbath the 13th, call the attention of their congregations to this Union; and that the same Sabbath evening be spent in prayer for a special effusion of the spirit of grace and of supplication during the period proposed, the effect of which may be long enjoyed after that period shall have passed away."

The circular then suggests the following subjects for prayer:—

- I.—(Monday, March 14th), "Confession and deep humiliation on account of sin; prayer for pardon and for grace henceforth to depart from all iniquity."
- II.—(Tuesday, 15th), "The speedy and entire overthrow of Paganism."
- III.—(Wednesday, 16th), "The speedy and total overthrow of Moham-medanism."
- IV.—(Thursday, 17th), "The speedy and complete downfall of Popery."
- V.—(Friday, 18th), "The Conversion of the Jews and of the adherents of the Greek and Armenian Churches."
- VI.—(Saturday, 19th), "The removal of Causes of Division among all who hold the truth as it is in Jesus."
- VII.—(Sabbath, 20th), "The universal sanctification of the Lord's-day."
- VIII.—(Monday, 21st), "Prayer for a great outpouring of the Holy Spirit on all the Evangelical Churches of the world."

We doubt whether anything so disgraceful as this paragraph has appeared in this country of late years. The whole spirit and temper of the "Society for Promoting United Prayer for the Revival of Religion," is exactly the temper, on a small and vulgar scale, of the most crackbrained fanatics that disgraced the great cause of religious liberty in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The conception of prayer which it reveals is perfectly astounding, when we consider what prayer is, and to whom it is addressed. We would be the last to inimate a doubt as to the privilege or the duty either of public or private prayer. Men can perform no higher function than that of addressing their Maker, either in their public or in their private capacity,

so long as their addresses are reverent, decent, and aimed at objects for which it is becoming that men should ask. But to suppose that prayer, merely as prayer, is a good thing, in such a sense that the more we have of it the better—that it can be “promoted” by a society—and that the fact of its being prayer entitles those who pray to ask for whatever they please—is one of the most pernicious of all errors, and is expressly condemned both in the Old and New Testaments. “Keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God, and be more ready to hear than to give the sacrifice of fools, for they consider not that they do evil. Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thy heart be hasty to utter anything before God, for God is in heaven and thou upon earth, therefore let thy words be few.” We need not quote that most familiar but little regarded passage in the Sermon on the Mount which tells us how hypocrites pray. Men do not in the present day pray standing in the synagogues and at the corners of streets that they may be seen of men; but when they advertise special meetings in the newspapers, and form societies for the promotion of prayer, we do not know that the principle is very different.

Infinitely the most offensive part of the paragraph which we have quoted—that which gives its character to the whole proceeding—is the list of subjects which are to be prayed for. We may be very uncharitable, but when we look at the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th, we can assign to the 1st and 8th very little more sincerity than that which attaches to what reporters call the usual loyal and patriotic toasts at a public dinner. They are precisely paralleled by two verses of Burns’s terrible satire on Holy Willie, who mixes up curses on all his antagonists with lamentations for his own frailties, and petitions for “grace and gear,” in a very similar manner. The programme of the General Union for Prayer appears to us to be precisely the same in spirit as the petition which Burns puts into the mouth of an ideal self-deceiver.

One would have thought that, if a really sincere and pious Scotchman were praying for his country, he might have found more appropriate subjects for his petitions than the “speedy and entire overthrow” of the creeds, such as they are, of perhaps five-sixths of the human race. No country in the world is so drunken as his own—few so unchaste. Of the former vice we spoke last week. As to the latter, we may appeal to the Registrar-General’s returns just published, from which it appears that one Scotchman in every ten who were born last year is a bastard. Paganism might be overthrown—so might Mahometanism—so might Popery—Jews, Greeks, and Armenians might be converted to the strictest sect of Calvinism—“All who hold the truth,” whoever they may be, might be united—Sunday might be made as holy as the absence of every means of harmless amusement or occupation could make it—every petition of the General Union might be literally granted, except indeed the slight incidental one, that they “might henceforth depart from iniquity;” and yet the Devil might grin at his favourite sins as merrily as ever he took his walks abroad in all directions through the streets, farms, and mountains of their native country.

The same spirit dictates the choice of all the petitions. The only moral duty (the observance of the Sunday) to which they allude is one which, according to the petitioners’ view of it, consists principally in outward observances, and which has been degraded by their noisy fanaticism into a sort of party badge. The supposed breaches of that duty which they denounce, and at the suppression of which all their efforts are directed, are for the most part mere external acts which no one has ever shown, and which very few have even attempted to show, to be inconsistent with sincere reverence for Sunday as a day of rest and worship. The prayers about Popery, Mahometanism, Paganism, Jews, Greeks, and Armenians, are ludicrously absurd when we consider what the condition of Scotland is. They irresistibly recall the text which says that the eyes of a fool are in the ends of the earth. What earthly or heavenly motive can the General Union have for distressing themselves about the spiritual state of the Armenians? Have one in five hundred of those who are to pray about them for six hours together the slightest notion what the Armenians believe, and how their belief differs from that of the Church of Scotland? Even in this piece of ludicrous folly the authors of this marvellous document have contrived to expose a lower depth of fanaticism than they had reached before. Paganism is to be overthrown, “speedily and entirely”—Mahometanism, “speedily and totally,” but apparently not entirely—Popery, “speedily and completely,” but not entirely nor totally; but the Jews and “the adherents of the Greek and Armenian Churches” (who are delicately postponed to the Jews), are only to be converted, though neither speedily, entirely, totally, nor completely. The stupidity of the language is only equalled by the indecency of the temper which it shows. A Papist, it seems, is worse than a Jew. The majority of the Christian world would be better off if it, in set terms, rejected the Saviour, and looked upon Him as a blasphemous impostor. The extraordinary document before us throws a horrible light on the state of mind in which—unconsciously, let us hope—it was written. Jews, Armenians, and Greeks are to be converted, but not a word is said of the conversion of Pagans, Mahometans, or Papists. “Speedy and total overthrow”—“Curse ye Meroz, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof!”—is the only petition which their creeds suggest. In this instance we cannot recognise in the imprecation the voice of an angel of the Lord.

We wonder whether it ever occurred to any of the authors of this production to ask themselves seriously and quietly what object they propose to effect. Do they seriously believe that they are the best judges of times and seasons, and are so deeply familiar with all the mysteries of life that they have a right to pray for a miraculous interference with the belief of almost all the world? Do they really think that Scotch Calvinism is so exquisite an embodiment of the truth that the greatest conceivable blessing for all the rest of the world would be to be miraculously conformed to the same model? The essence of all pious prayer is resignation to the will of God. The essence of such a society as this General Union is the very reverse. It is a scheme for the organization of clamorous, noisy petitions which aim at bringing about a sudden and miraculous revolution in all human society in deference to the wishes of a few Scotchmen. If the paragraph means this, we leave it to our readers to mock its true character. If it does not mean this, it is a blasphemous mockery.

THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.

THE National Portrait Gallery, of which we have already spoken in these columns, is now open to the public, at 29, Great George-street, Westminster—no introduction being requisite, except a ticket of admission procurable on application from Messrs. Colnaghi or Mr. Smith. It is perhaps to be regretted that the undertaking was not commenced till it had become difficult, if not impossible, to form anything like a complete gallery of originals. Yet a National Portrait Gallery can hardly be established except at an advanced period in a country’s history. It is necessary to wait till the fires of faction have burnt low, lest paltry party feelings should influence the admission or rejection of portraits, and till there is little to fear from the violence of an excited mob. A century ago, a proposal to admit the likeness of a Stuart might have been thought a symptom of disloyalty; and less than a century ago there have been times when an angry mob, ready, as is always the case, to see an enemy in every illustrious character, might have treated a collection of portraits as the Romans treated the statues of unpopular Emperors. The deep and general conviction which exists among ourselves at the present day, that such feelings and scenes can never be revived, will, if anything can, secure its own accomplishment. The same year which witnessed the abolition of the State services has witnessed the opening of a gallery in which we trust that before long a Cromwell and a Charles I., a William III. and a James II., may hang peacefully side by side.

To this and all such additions to our public collections of art, there are certain stereotyped objections which make themselves heard from time to time. It is said that the country ought not to be taxed for the good of London, nor the community at large for the amusement of the rich. The former of these has been urged and answered a hundred times. It is the old story of the belly and its members. London is the heart of the kingdom, through which its life-blood circulates, and in which it is coloured. Whatever affects the one affects the other, and to pretend to balance exactly their taxation and expenditure is pedantic and unprofitable economy. The latter objection implies two things. It implies, in the first place, that the uneducated classes do not frequent the public galleries, and in the second, that the contemplation of works of art may be an amusement, but is nothing more. The first of these assertions we do not believe; but it is a question of fact about which argument is thrown away, and which any one may settle for himself by a few visits to the National Gallery in Trafalgar-square. The other implication we will briefly discuss.

We will commence by admitting that we are not believers in the close connexion which some enthusiasts discover between pure morality and pure taste. There is, if we are not mistaken, a very decided gap between telling a lie and having a panel painted to imitate oak. We believe that the diffusion of a taste for art is calculated to operate in a different, we had almost said, a contrary direction—viz., by humanizing and liberalizing, rather than elevating and strengthening. Now, unless foreigners are exceedingly prejudiced in their opinion of the English nation, some such influence as this is very much wanted. We have been called, in a concise and far from flattering way, a nation of fanatics and a nation of shopkeepers. The meaning of the former term is clear enough. It refers to the Puritanical spirit of our popular theology, which, whether we think it a good or an evil, is undeniable. Those who think it an evil, and regret the harsh, illiberal tone which it has given to our civilization, will welcome every advance in the dissemination of art and science. These are effectual where logic and ridicule are employed in vain. The introduction, indeed, of a National Portrait Gallery may not be a great matter, but still it is a step. The most censorious divine cannot cavil at it. The poet Cowper might have visited it without fear of incurring a reproof from his friend, the Rev. J. Newton; the most pious inhabitant of Carlisle might wish to see it without feeling pricked in conscience as he listens to the eloquence of Dean Close.

The oft-quoted dictum of Napoleon, that the English are a race of shopkeepers, is of a less definite nature than the charge that they are a race of fanatics. It has nevertheless, we venture to think, a real meaning and a real foundation. They are in the habit of boasting that they are never led away by theories, ideas

and visionary projects, but that they concentrate their energies upon tangible and substantial ends. Our political history seems to prove that the boast is not made without good grounds, and there can, in fact, be little doubt that we owe to this tendency our exemption from those social convulsions which have been so common upon the Continent. We love prosperity, and we care little for forms of government. Yet, inestimable as are the benefits which we have derived in our political development from our horror of romance and theory, a dispassionate observer must admit that it is pushed too far in our private and individual life. Wealth, as the most tangible good of life, occupies, in the thoughts of most men, a position out of proportion to its real importance. To pretend to despise riches is indeed a piece of idle affectation; but there is a mean between affected contempt and irrational reverence. Few Englishmen can be accused of the former—most are guilty of the latter. Hypocrisy has been called the respect which vice shows for virtue; but the usual hypocrisy amongst ourselves consists of a simulation, not of superior goodness, but of superior wealth. The passion for money-making has become a second nature with us—it has come to be looked upon as the one grand duty of life. Money is, it must be admitted, an important matter everywhere, and it may be thought that the English are no worse than their neighbours; but we believe it will be found that, with the exception perhaps of the United States of America, it has nowhere so strongly influenced the character of civilization as in England. Writers upon political economy have remarked that the choice of an occupation in life is upon the Continent determined less rigorously by considerations of profit than among ourselves, and that greater latitude is habitually allowed to individual taste and caprice. We believe that the remark is just. The German is more ready to sacrifice himself to learning; the Frenchman is more moved by vanity and love of pleasure; pride and indolence enter more largely into the composition of the Spaniard and Italian. The idols which they fall down and worship may be more hollow, but their veneration is less sordid. With us the means has usurped the place of the end, and it is forgotten that money is only valuable as it can purchase happiness. Against this intensely utilitarian tendency, as it is commonly, though with doubtful propriety, called, sermons and satires wage war in vain. The Deformed Thief, Fashion, will continue to walk up and down the streets in spite of all the Dogberrys in the kingdom. The only sure weapon is the infusion of a taste for knowledge and art, and it is for this reason that Lord Stanhope, who originated, and the various donors who have enriched the National Portrait Gallery, deserve the thanks of their countrymen as general benefactors. An innocent pleasure is a good in itself; but it becomes an instrument of education when it calls into exercise the reason and the imagination. Works of art appeal in some measure to both these faculties, but more particularly to the latter; and it is in the latter that Englishmen are most deficient—or perhaps we should rather say, which they are most apt to ignore as an element in everyday life. "We (Italians) are artists—*pur troppo*," Count Cesare Balbo is said to have exclaimed not long before his death. The contrary may be affirmed of the English. They have too little of the artist in their composition. They are too ready to identify the ideal with the visionary—too apt to limit the real to the material.

The opening of a new and distinct National Gallery has seemed a fitting occasion for offering a few observations upon the good which such institutions are calculated to effect, and we have discussed it in the aspect which it presents as a collection of works of art, because it is as such that the majority of spectators will always view it. The idea, however, of a Portrait Gallery is historical rather than artistic, and it is probable that from the latter point of view its attractions can never be of the highest order. No portraits are admissible except those of celebrated persons, and portraits of celebrated persons by celebrated painters are rare, and highly cherished by their possessors. Some few find their way into the market from time to time, and more, as has already been the case, will be given or bequeathed; but it will be long before many can have been obtained of great intrinsic value. At present the exhibition is, as may be supposed, very incomplete, whether we regard it as illustrative of art or history. It does not contain a single Vandyck or Holbein; there is no likeness of any King or Queen of England; and of all the persons concerned in the Great Rebellion, Ireton and Lenthall are the only representatives. Yet in spite of these deficiencies the trouble of a visit will be well repaid. Three or four works by Sir Joshua Reynolds are sufficient to redeem any collection from insignificance. It is interesting, moreover, to compare the styles of the different performers in that department of the profession which has always found most favour in England. The pictures numbered 35, 36, and 38, have apparently been hung side by side with the intention of suggesting and facilitating this kind of criticism. Yet we must be pardoned for questioning, in the present instance, the propriety of the arrangement. The immediate juxtaposition of contrasting manners is not necessary or desirable. Had the Romney been placed between the Sir G. Kneller and the Sir J. Reynolds, the opposition would have been quite sufficiently strong. As they are at present hung, the admirable skill of Sir J. Reynolds makes the mechanical and somewhat vulgar handling of Sir Godfrey Kneller needlessly prominent, while the florid and well-preserved colours

of the latter are an insulting comment upon the ghastly white to which those of the former have faded. The present arrangement is, it is true, only a temporary one, and the pictures must ultimately be grouped upon historical rather than æsthetical grounds; but as considerations of the latter kind must always have some weight in matters of detail, we have thought it worth while to call attention to what seems to be an indication of an erroneous principle. As a general rule, all strongly marked contrasts serve to bring out defects, and not merits. Excellence is either too homogeneous, or too distinct in kind, to admit of intensification by such artifices. Nor, while the pleasure of the ordinary spectator is diminished, does the student really gain. When the mind is occupied with the faults thus forced upon the attention, the good qualities of a more retiring nature are apt to escape notice; and in art, as elsewhere, it is better to dwell upon truth and excellence than to hunt after error and falsehood, even with the desire of avoiding them.

Of the fifty-eight portraits as yet assembled, most are of men and women whose names are familiar to every educated person; but there are a few which we question whether one in a hundred would cross the street to look at, or would know anything about till he had consulted the biographical sketches which have been wisely given in the catalogue. At first it was perhaps right not to be very exclusive, but the Committee will do well to remember in future that a single really fine portrait of a really illustrious character will in common estimation outweigh a thousand mediocrities. Unless great discrimination is exercised, the catalogue will soon become a ponderous octavo; and the visitor will be wearied by a crowd of faces for which he does not care. The celebrated Chandos Shakespeare is at any rate not one of these. About this picture, as our readers are probably aware, dogmatism has run riot. It has been called a fine painting—a wretched daub—an undoubted likeness of Shakespeare—a likeness, but not of Shakespeare—a composition. We are disposed to acquiesce in the sentence passed by Dr. Waagen, in his *Art Treasures*, that it is a valuable though damaged painting, and that there is a reasonable presumption of its authenticity. That it is a genuine portrait of some one, and not an ideal head, we feel little doubt. An ideal head generally betrays itself, on the one hand, by a want of individuality, and by the absence of those minute traits which are analogous to the kind of internal evidence that stamps *Pepy's Diary* as an authentic picture of a human mind, and no literary forgery—on the other, by an unnatural development of some part of the countenance, and a want of harmony between the different features. This is the case with most of the engraved heads of Shakespeare. He is commonly depicted with a forehead disproportionately lofty and massive. The Chandos Shakespeare, however, does not warrant this. The first glance, indeed, may convey the impression that it does; but a closer inspection will show that this appearance is deceptive, and is the result of a little baldness about the brows. The head is, in fact, very symmetrical, and the forehead is far from being very prominent.

It is curious to note how in some cases portraits confirm, while in others they seem to contradict, our conceptions of the character of their subjects. In the National Portrait Gallery there are likenesses of Dr. Parr, the poet Thomson, and Fox the Martyrologist, which are singularly in accordance with all that we know of their lives and dispositions. The coarse, shrewd, irritable features of the first—the dreamy eyes of the second—and the long-drawn hollow visage of the third—are admirable commentaries upon their history and writings. On the other hand, it is with a feeling almost of incredulity that we discover the placid, sentimental countenance, which hangs over the fireplace in the back-room, to have belonged to the notorious Judge Jeffreys. So little in unison does it seem with his bloody and infamous career, that he must, one would almost think, have undergone a sudden and mysterious change of nature, like that which has so much perplexed historians in the case of the Emperor Tiberius, or which, in the case of Burke, Mr. Buckle has attributed to an access of insanity. Yet there is, it must be admitted, something unpleasant about the expression of the mouth, and if we had another portrait to compare with that by Kneller, we might discover that his face was capable of a different and less favourable reading. A partial and one-sided interpretation of the expression is in most cases inevitable. The human face is too complicated for any painter to give it in its entirety. It is this which makes painting from nature so different from, and so much more difficult than copying. In the latter case, the artist has only to imitate—his task is almost mechanical. In the former, before he can represent, he has to analyse. He has to determine which are the characteristic lines—to pass over some, and perhaps to exaggerate others. It thus happens that portraits of the same person, by different artists, are often remarkably discrepant. One brings into prominence traits which the other neglects, and the result is that, though both pictures may be like the original, they may be very unlike each other. This explains what must have struck many persons upon seeing the likeness of some familiar face—viz., the extraordinary similarity and dissimilarity which it seems to combine. Art can give us something which we recognise—to give all is beyond its power. Yet, after making all allowances, the difference between pictures of the same individual is occasionally very perplexing. There were at the Manchester Exhibition two portraits of Garrick—one by Sir J. Reynolds,

and the other by Gainsborough—hung side by side, which no one would have guessed were meant for the same person. Readers of Mr. Froude's history will also remember that he has appealed to some of the portraits of Anne Boleyn as evidence against her, while he admits that the others tell a different story. Other instances might be seen at Manchester of a more instructive because more intelligible discordance. Every one is familiar with the head of Charles I. as portrayed by Vandyck. Those dignified, poetical-looking heads, with their melancholy eyes, have been more eloquent in his favour than all the High-Church writers. The works of Mytens show that Vandyck was a flatterer, though a skilful one. There was, in the Manchester gallery, a conspicuous full-length by the former artist, which, while it bore unmistakable evidence to the generally faithful nature of Vandyck's paintings, transmuted the look of lofty resolve which he has impressed upon the countenance of Charles I. into a look of silly obstinacy. The features were the same—the interpretation was utterly different.

A gallery of portraits is always interesting to the lover of history. When we are familiar with the face of a celebrated man, his acts acquire the same sort of additional interest for us which a description of a battle does when we have visited the scene of it. But the most attractive portraits are those of persons about whose characters historians have disagreed. In such cases the spectator scrutinizes eagerly the countenance of him whom some have praised or defended, and others have attacked, in the hope of finding in the handwriting of nature a clue to the mystery which documentary evidence has not unravelled. Of the men and women whose lives have caused dissension among historians, we believe that not one will at present be found in our National Portrait Gallery. Wolsey is there, but not Henry VIII.; Nell Gwynn is present, but Mary Queen of Scots is absent; Ireton and Lenthall we have, but Strafford and Laud, Hampden and Cromwell are still to be procured.

PHOTOTYPES AND PHOTOGLYPHS.

II.

IN a recent number we promised briefly to review the various processes that have been proposed for engraving and printing by the immediate action of light. We may comprise these under the titles of Photoglyphs and Phototypes. The former term would embrace those processes in which the luminous agency is instrumental in producing an actual matrix in *relievo* and *intaglio*—the term Phototypes being reserved for such as yield impressions that may be taken off from a flat surface by a mechanical method of printing, analogous to that of the lithographer or of the anastatic printer. The term Photograph might be retained for the variety of light-picture produced by the direct agency of light, and needing only a chemical process of treatment to give it all the permanence which it is capable of receiving. A photograph is therefore formed independently of the mechanical methods of the printer.

The ordinary photographic image consists, as we have observed in a former article, of a most delicate and infinitesimal surface, the base of which is silver, but silver certainly in some unexplained state of union with organic matter. This image is little more substantial than a shadow, and, if it is not as fleeting, it is at any rate among the most perishable of all lovely things. Many efforts have been made to render it less transient by methods which substitute gold for the silver, on a chemical principle analogous to that by which a knife is coated by a film of copper by dipping it into a solution of a copper salt. A solution of gold brought into contact with the argentiferous image appears to remove the silver from it—gold being deposited, unit for unit, in the silver's place. The photograph assumes a darker tone and a tint of purple or violet, or nearly black, according to the salt of gold and the manner of manipulation. This process has great merit, in so far as that it preserves the exquisite gradations of *tone* which are peculiar to the true photograph, while it would seem to present a considerably increased power of resistance to atmospheric and other agencies, by reason of the susceptibility of gold to chemical action being far less than that of metallic silver. But it is still a mere *trace* of gold that gives embodiment to the airy nothingness of the image in the camera; and we have yet to see whether the chemical inertia of the "sun" among the metals is sufficient to resist the agencies to which its "lunar" sister succumbs.

The production of a species of photograph of a more mechanical, and perhaps, therefore, of a less refined character, has been recently proposed. Its details are dependent on the use of that bichromate of potassium to which we alluded before as the foundation of so many of these ingenious combinations of photochemical changes and mechanical invention. This substance is mixed with ordinary gum and with a variety of charcoal in the finest state of division; the mixture is applied to a paper endowed with a particular character of porosity, and the picture is taken upon this paper when dry. Of course the whole preparatory process is conducted by a yellow or nonphotographic light. The picture is formed by the ordinary method of superposition, the *negative* being laid on the prepared paper and the sun shining through that negative upon it. Careful washing, removing the whole of the ingredients employed, leaves the paper white wherever the negative is opaque. The lightest, and, therefore, most transparent parts of the negative are those through which

the light passes, and beneath which it transforms the soluble mixture of gum and bichromate of potassium into substances unacted on by water; so that in those parts the carbon is retained, while in all the intermediate stages of tone the amount of change induced by the light, and the corresponding amount of carbon left in the paper, is inversely proportional to the transparency, that is to say, to the darkness of the shadows of the negative. The result is a positive picture of great intensity, and, it is highly probable, of a very indestructible nature. This is the process of Mr. Pouncey, of Dorchester, and is very similar in its characteristics to another that has been patented by a Mr. Charles Cowper, who proposes the use of any colouring matter that can be had in the form of a powder. One main charge against this process is founded on the too rapid passage from the shadows to the lights—a want in fact of that delicate gradation in middle tint, which is a peculiar and most valuable attribute of the silver photograph. But misconception seems to exist on this subject. It has been urged that in Mr. Pouncey's carbon-photographs, the middle tints exhibit a *graining*, such as one sees in an aquatint print, and that, owing to this circumstance, the delicacy of the gradation in tint is lost, and the aerial perspective is destroyed.

In truth, this accusation is only partially grounded in fact. It is a question of degree. In the daguerreotype, the lens reveals a dotted surface, formed by the drops of mercury that have condensed and then become amalgam, in greater or less numbers, according as the varying intensity of the light in different parts has made the surface more or less attractive to the mercurial vapour. The most delicate compound tints used by the artist in his brush are shown by the microscope to be not only separate particles, of say blue and red colour, but they are sure to be blended in very great inequality on a surface which, notwithstanding, seems tinted with a uniform violet. So, too, even the exquisite softness of a fine silver photograph, in all its stages and gradations of middle tint, must needs be produced by the relative amounts of white paper and of the opaque silver compound which the eye sees and appreciates with a perfect discrimination, *en masse*, though it cannot analyse them into their component elements of white ground and sepia brown deposit. There can be little doubt that the carbon photograph, though formed by a coarser, because a more mechanical and less entirely chemical process than that which gives birth to the silver photograph, will, by experiment and careful manipulation, be ultimately formed in a material of still finer grain, and be made to approximate indefinitely to the delicacy of gradation of the more refined process that it would rival. But it may be that this very delicacy of gradation, and consequent fineness of grain, may be found to entail a liability to destruction, and a susceptibility to change, which even the stubborn element carbon may not be able to resist. But a carbon photograph so produced must be a work demanding time, judgment, and skill, and consequently, if even it should surpass in beauty, it cannot in facility of production compete with a true printing process.

The attempts to produce such a printing process as should enable the operator to take impressions as from an ordinary engraved plate or prepared stone have been manifold, and their success hitherto has not been commensurate with the ingenuity or the labour expended in the efforts to produce them. We have already divided these processes into Photoglyphic and Phototypic methods. The very names Photogalvanography or Photometallography are enough to repel any but the most ardent experimentalists from the variety of Photoglyph to which they are applied. Indeed, the complexity of the process thus designated seems hitherto to have prevented its being pursued by that large public whose hands are stained by the photographic silver. We have not space here to enter into any of the details of that process. Its general features are the production, first, of a copy of some good positive photograph upon a gelatine surface combined with the all-useful bichromate. Water expands the gelatine where the light has not acted (that is, in the shadows), and a real, naturally-formed *relievo* matrix is the result. An *intaglio* copy of this is taken in gutta percha, or some other plastic material, and from this copper-plates are produced, in the original *relievo*, by deposition of the metal by the ordinary electroplating method. From the copper-plates thus formed impressions are struck off as from an ordinary copper-plate engraving.

Another photoglyphic process owes its existence and its name, *photoglyphic engraving*, to a man in respect to whom the photographers of another age will recall with indignation the shabby treatment he has received from the photographic manipulators who were his contemporaries, and who owed to him so much. Mr. Fox Talbot, the real discoverer of those forms of photography which have driven even the daguerreotype from the field, has long set himself the further task of solving the great problem of making the sun not only design the picture, but engrave it on a plate. He did not discover the action of light on bichromate of potassium, but it was he who first applied it to a practical and really available purpose. It was Mr. Talbot who first strove to make the action of bichromate of potassium on gelatine in the presence of light, serviceable for an engraving process. He has recently produced another process highly promising in its characteristics, and needing doubtless only a little application of the experience possessed by the engraver in the materials employed to become developed into an admirable process of sun-engraving. Mr. Talbot produces his pictures on copper, zinc, or steel. Obviously the

use of steel-plates is a great step in advance. He coats the plate with the gelatinized chromate, and exposes it with a positive photograph over it. On removing it from the light he proceeds to impart to it a grain. This process is necessary for all methods of printing wherein the printer's ink has to cover any extent of surface. In etching or line engraving, the ink lies in the fissure or hollow formed by the line etched in or engraved; but in aquatint or mezzotint prints where the shadows are not covered by a scoring of etched lines, it is necessary to produce an artificial scoring or etching of the surface, in order that that surface may receive the printer's ink equally in those places where it is intended that the printer's ink should lie. In mezzotint the plate is uniformly scratched over so as to produce this scored surface, and the lights are then put in by scraping out this scoring more or less completely, or even burnishing the metal of the highest lights. An aquatint ground is produced by more complex methods—the simplest consisting in a sprinkling of very fine resin over the plate, and gently heating it till it adheres thereto. The latter is the method adopted by Mr. Talbot. He sprinkles the finest conceivable powder of copal over his plate on withdrawing it from the action of the light, and then melts the particles over a spirit-lamp. Strange to say, the heat effects no injury to the delicate chemical agents on the plate, nor to the picture which they hold as yet almost invisibly in their keeping. He then acts on the surface of the whole either by an acid or by a chloride of iron that possesses the characters that render an acid available for an etching process. Now, wherever the light has fallen, and in proportion to the intensity of its chemical action in various parts of the picture, the plate is protected by the chromated gelatine. Over the shadows of the picture the acid agency is at work eroding the metal below, and eroding it in proportion to the depth of the shadow—that is to say, in proportion to the immunity from the light-action which has been extended to it. Of course experience, a cultivated judgment, and the minutest care are requisite; but here are all the elements for producing an admirable engraved plate by the immediate action of the light alone. The graining in the shadows retains the ink, and retains more or less of it in proportion as the biting into the metal between the grains is deep and extensive, and whatever virtues the finest aquatint engraving can possess should, so far as the mechanical result is concerned, be equally possessed by the Photoglyph of Mr. Fox Talbot. Time and the attraction to the process of able mechanical manipulation are, probably, all that are needed to give this process a delicacy of half shadow that may go very far towards rivaling the gentle tones of the best photograph.

Finally, there is a process well worth attention from the applications it may be capable of. It is a Phototypic process, and its result may be called a Photo-litho-type. It is well known that a lithograph is formed by preparing the surface of a particular sort of dolomitic stone with a gummy preparation, which can be wetted with water, and then drawing upon it with a soapy chalk or ink, which can be rendered incapable of being touched by water, though instantly attaching itself to the greasy material of printer's ink. A similar employment of surface affinities is adopted for the preparation of metallic plates in the processes called Zincography and Anastatic printing. The action of bichromate of potassium has been called in here also; and the gum surface is so modified by it under the influence of light as to admit of the substitution of a soap or grease-touching surface only on those parts where the light has not acted, or in proportion to the protection from the luminous influence which has been imparted to it by the shadow. Here, too, for large surfaces of shadow a graining is employed, but it is the graining in use already for the production of the lithograph, and consists merely in a roughened surface communicated to the stone. It will be seen from the sketch we have given of a few of the processes for producing Photoglyphs and Phototypes, that neither energy nor ingenuity are wanting to make the Sun his own engraver. Unquestionably it will be but a little time hence that we shall have to look back on the days of fading, or uncertain photographs, as an era in the infancy of this beautiful invention. It will then be a matter of serious consideration for the artist, how far and by what means the phantom, which the necromancy of science has conjured out of the sunbeam, is to be bound to the car of art. It must be restrained from merely aping forms of beauty which it cannot truly represent, and prevented from being a hindrance and a discouragement, or at least a distorting influence on the minds of those to whom it ought to lend so invaluable an aid as an instrument subordinated to art.

REVIEWS.

ENGLISH POLICY TOWARDS INDIA.*

THE English Empire in India is as exceptional in its indirect consequences as in its origin and constitution. The belief that no other nation could have raised and consolidated so abnormal a fabric may possibly be a delusion of patriotic vanity, but it may at least be asserted with unhesitating confidence that Englishmen alone are capable of regarding such an achievement

in the light in which it is represented by modern pamphleteers. Mr. Ludlow has written largely on Indian questions, and in the present work he displays much of the ability and industry of a thoroughgoing advocate and partisan; but it never appears to have occurred to his mind to inquire how and why the system exists which furnishes himself and many kindred politicians with an inexhaustible subject for criticism, for censure, and for calumny. English patriotism of a certain type regards the founders and supporters of the Indian Empire only as a gang of pettifogging tyrants; yet ancient writers thought it a truism that mighty States were reared up by virtue and wisdom and heroic endurance. "Thus," according to the poet, "grew the strength of Etruria, and it was by these methods that Rome became the pride of the world." In those times it was held that Imperial policy consisted in protecting the weak and in beating down presumptuous resistance, for the Roman had not learned to discuss the titles of subject or hostile princes in the technical spirit of a conveyancer. The defenders of the Company may console themselves for the irrational clamour which last year overbore their remonstrances, by observing that the enemies of the English dominion in India have not been tempted by their easy triumph into even a temporary cessation of their attacks. As long as the Supreme Government continues to pursue any conceivable line of policy, writers of the stamp of Mr. Ludlow will denounce with persevering animosity every attempt either to protect the people or to assert the Imperial authority. If a Governor-General maintains the rights and defends the character of the natives—if posts of confidence are exclusively entrusted to English officials—if Christianity is encouraged or proselytism repressed—whether the land is vested in zemindars, in peasants, or in village communities—the ruling authorities are accused of undermining the supremacy of their countrymen, of disregarding the just claims of native subjects, of indifference, of intolerance, and above all, of systematic injustice in the regulation of the land revenue. Against English supremacy, as in former times against the Company which represented it, assailants from all quarters of the compass—missionaries, indigo-planters, sympathizers with dispossessed rajahs, and agitators at large—are always ready to coalesce. During the discussions on the India Bill, the former Government was most effectively held up to popular odium on the pretext that its servants had abstained from interfering with customs and rites which are offensive to English susceptibility. Mr. Ludlow concludes his extravagant eulogies on the recent Proclamation by quoting an account of the manner in which the document was received by a mixed audience of natives in the South of India. "I caused," says his informant, "the Queen's disclaimer [of interference] to be again twice read over, and assured the people that her Majesty's commands would be the rigid rule of her Government. Not till then were they thoroughly satisfied of what was intended. 'If that be so,' said a Hindoo, 'then the padres will no longer be suffered to come to the festivals of our Pagodas, when we are peaceably met together, and hold forth and abuse our religion to our very faces, provoking us to break forth into violence.'" In short, the natives understood the Proclamation as a pledge that missionaries should be discountenanced or suppressed; and yet Mr. Ludlow, who complacently records their satisfaction, virtually makes common cause with the proselytizing agitators who denounce the traditional policy of toleration. No system of government which has yet existed in the world would be proof against the malignant astuteness which has been employed to investigate the shortcomings of Indian administration; but a large proportion of the charges which have been brought forward in concert would be found mutually destructive, if each separate form of attack were not practically addressed to some distinct section of the malcontent community.

Oh prudent discipline! From North to South!
Austria and France shoot in each other's mouth.

Calcutta, Young India, and Exeter Hall concur only in their detestation of an impartial Government.

Mr. Ludlow has selected for the special objects of his attack the practice of annexation and the alleged interference of the Government with certain descriptions of private property; and if he had entered on the discussion in a more temperate and impartial spirit, so well-informed a writer might probably have thrown a valuable light on some complicated questions of law and of policy. Too exclusive an attention to general principles and to the supposed welfare of the community may perhaps have tended unduly to reduce all classes to a level, such as that which modern European legislation is constantly promoting in all parts of the Continent. The third-rate administrators who have been habitually placed by the Crown over the heads of Indian statesmen have naturally expanded into a theoretical absurdity the operation of a law which they found in partial operation:—

I have to rub my eyes [says Mr. Ludlow with much reason] and make sure that I am not reading some translation from a Continental Socialist of what may be called the official or centralist school, when I see, in a minute by the late Governor of Madras, Lord Harris, dated 26th October, 1854, a sentence like the following:—"I consider that the land of a country belongs to the Government *de facto*, and should be held by it, and should be distributed by it amongst the population in such a manner as to cause it to be the most beneficially cultivated, both as regards the interests of the cultivators and of the whole community." Imagine, O ye landlords, and eke tenants of England, Mr. Ernest Jones and Mr. Bronterre O'Brien become "Government *de facto*" of this country, and proceeding upon my Lord Harris's theory!

* *Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown towards India.* By John Malcolm Ludlow. London: Ridgway. 1859.

To do Mr. Ludlow justice, his own doctrine is diametrically opposed to Lord Harris's unconscious Socialism, but it illustrates the truth that the opposite of an absurdity is often an extravagant error. The whole of his argument is founded on the tacit assumption that, in India at least, the Government, instead of being the agent, the trustee, and the representative of the community, has selfish interests of its own, which are in almost every instance opposed to the rights of individuals. From the beginning of his book to the end he always regards the public revenue as the property of some oppressive and anomalous entity, extracted, without prospect of return or compensation, from subjects who derive no advantage either from the mode of its expenditure or from a more equal repartition of the burden.

Mr. Ludlow considers the appointment of Sir C. Trevelyan one of the most meritorious acts of a Minister whom he praises, for services still to be performed, in language which a devoted admirer might have applied to Richelieu or to Pitt at the close of a twenty years' reign; yet he adopts the language of agitators who denounce the Enam Commission in Madras as the embodiment of extortionate bad faith. Since the publication of the book, Lord Stanley has publicly quoted the opinion of the new Governor of Madras in favour of the continuance of the inquiry, and dispassionate observers, in the absence of minute local knowledge, may reasonably believe in the expediency of testing innumerable claims of proprietors to exemption from taxation. In Bombay, the Enam grants are in a majority of instances based on forgery, and it is possible that the privileged landholders of Madras may not have been less unscrupulous. The English Government at home and abroad is probably the only sovereign power in the world which would recognise, even in actual holders, a right to retain their possessions without contributing to the burdens of the State; and yet its officers are exposed to Mr. Ludlow's unmeasured vituperations because they question the justice of securing a mischievous privilege by a perpetual entail. The question whether the country could be more cheaply administered in peace and defended in war is wholly irrelevant to the rights of taxpayers amongst themselves, and to the claims of the Government as representing the community. The public revenue, even if it were not a common property, is, or ought to be, a common burden, and individuals who claim to withhold their proportionate contribution may think themselves fortunate if their titles are acknowledged in principle at the cost of the minutest scrutiny in detail. The Enam Commission properly throws the burden of proof on the claimant, and the ablest administrators have disputed the right of the grantee, after the extinction of his family, to transmit the privilege by adoption. The refutation of their principle which some unsuccessful litigants have recently furnished is somewhat hastily accepted by Mr. Ludlow as conclusive. "Mr. Manson reported against the sanction (to adopt an heir) being given. The Brahmin brooded over his wrong for years. The rebellion seemed to give him an opportunity for revenge. He ran and murdered the European officer. But who first robbed him?" Mr. Delany lately supplied a precisely similar illustration of the injustice inflicted by the operation of the law in Donegal.

That Commissioners, Collectors, and Governors, have no conceivable interest in depriving proprietors of their just rights is a consideration which never occurs to Mr. Ludlow. In his eyes, the trustees of the community are mere robbers and plunderers if they attempt to assert the rights of the State against individual subjects; and yet English liberalism generally applauds a more sweeping application of the same process where the inverted patriotism of self-accusation, or rather of animosity to fellow-countrymen, is not called into play. Before 1789 every nobleman in France was an Enamdar, holding his lands exempt, by an undoubted title, from the taxes which were paid by the citizen and the peasant. Yet a noble fief might become liable to contribution if it passed into the hands of a commoner, and the Parliaments of the old Monarchy would have hesitated to allow the claim of a dying seignorial family to perpetuate itself by adoption. Mr. Ludlow's attack on the so-called system of annexation is not less one-sided and unjust. Lord Dalhousie expressed an opinion which seems almost self-evidently true, when, in deprecating external additions to the Empire, he declared he—

Could not conceive it possible for any one to dispute the policy of taking advantage of any just opportunity which presents itself for consolidating the territories which already belong to us, by taking possession of States which may lapse in the midst of them. Such was the general principle which ought to guide the British Government in its disposal of independent States where there has been total failure of all heirs whatever, or where permission is asked to continue by adoption a succession which fails in the natural line.

The proposition that it is expedient that a great State should possess all the territory within the frontiers of its dominion would never have been disputed except in the case of the much-enduring Government of British India. Mr. Ludlow, and other victims of Asiatic Anglophobia, are always delighted with any allegation that a native State is more prosperous than the adjacent English Province. If a similar phenomenon were presented by an extraparochial township, or by a suburb without the limits of a borough rate, they would probably perceive that the inhabitants of the favoured district were profiting gratuitously by the expenditure of their less fortunate neighbours. The external defence and political supervision of India are conducted at the expense of the subjects of the Crown, and Lord Dalhousie can scarcely have been mistaken in the inference that the pres-

sure of a fixed charge would be lightened by an extension of the area of taxation. It is also possible that a responsible statesman may have remembered, although the circumstance has escaped Mr. Ludlow's attention, that the native States maintained a larger force by a hundred thousand men than the Imperial Government, which alone had legitimate reasons for supporting a standing army. In 1852, the forces of the native princes exceeded 400,000 men, although they were exempted from the risk of foreign invasion, and restrained from the prosecution of internal feuds; and if the protected territories were to-morrow absorbed by the dominant Power, the restoration of all these levies to the pursuits of peaceful industry would simultaneously enable the Supreme Government to effect large reductions in its military establishment. It is possible that the political unity of the Peninsula might involve dangers of its own, but it is absurd to deny that the Government, in consolidating its dominion, is consulting the interests of its subjects.

The question of justice, of course, takes precedence of all calculations of expediency, but legal fictions devised to protect the titles of individual proprietors cannot be made indiscriminately available by claimants of sovereign power. The gist of Mr. Ludlow's intemperate accusations consists in the frequent refusal of the Government to allow an extinct dynasty to prolong or renovate itself by adoption. Mr. Ludlow justly compares the Hindoo system to the English right of testamentary disposition, and he considers that an interference with the local laws is as iniquitous where it affects the fate of an Indian kingdom, as if it were to divert from their legal destination the savings of an English shopkeeper. It is a necessary part of his argument that sovereign power is an indefeasible right, and that in India it ought to be secured to the possessor and his assigns by a perpetual entail. In European dynasties the proclamation of "Le Roi est mort—Vive le Roi," may sooner or later become inapplicable, but a dignity transmissible by even posthumous adoption can never possibly die out. As Mr. Ludlow strenuously urges, the widows of a Rajah who has died without natural or adopted issue may lawfully exercise the privilege in his stead, and torrents of vituperation are poured on the English functionaries who have declined to hand over whole tribes and countries to the perpetual dominion of an irrational legal fiction. The salvation of Bajee Rao may, according to Brahminical belief, have possibly depended on the ritual observances which devolved on Nana Sahib, but the Government which declined to pay 80,000*l.* a year of public money to the pretended Peishwah is not, without farther inquiry, to be convicted of a scandalous robbery. Mr. Ludlow, who constantly refers to his own technical judgment as a real property lawyer, remarks that the grant to Bajee Rao was expressly made "for the support of him and his family," and he adds that no English lawyer would have ventured to treat as surplusage the words "*and his family*." On the same principle, a bequest to enable the legatee "to keep a carriage and pair" would be construed as creating a reversionary interest for the benefit of the horses. The words of the grant purport to impose on Bajee Rao the maintenance of his family, so as to exclude any further claim on the Government; but it is idle to discuss questions of conveyancing with a writer who is denouncing an Imperial system.

Mr. Ludlow's practical conclusions are at least sweeping and consistent. He would restore Satara and Nagpore—he would enthroned the King of Oude at Lucknow with a diminished territory—and he would give back the Punjab to the Sikhs, under the sovereignty of Duleep Sing. In the good old times, fresh invasions and conquests limited to an average period of twenty or thirty years the practical duration of Royal entails; but, although scarcely an actual or dispossessed ruler in India can trace back his title for a century, the Supreme Government, which has put an end to violent changes of dynasty, is to take care that the present or recent distribution of territory is never again to be disturbed. When all abuses and usurpations are perpetuated beyond the risk of danger, the frantic antipathy of English philanthropists will still find excuses for venting itself as long as a vestige remains of the greatest product of the national energy and genius.

MR. HARE ON REPRESENTATION.*

MR. HARE, who is well known to the public at large as one of the Charity Commissioners, and to the legal profession as the author of one of the most valuable of the many series of Chancery Reports, has just published a very curious speculation on our present system of Parliamentary Representation, and on the means which should be taken to reform it. His theory is worked out with an elaborate minuteness and a technical skill which entitle it to consideration, although, as will presently be seen, it can have little value for any practical politician, apart from its extraordinary ingenuity.

Like many other observers, Mr. Hare has been struck with the immense anomalies and irregularities with which our existing system of representation abounds; but the anomalies which present themselves as such to his mind are of a very different kind from those which are often made the subject of violent, and generally of ignorant, declamation. The anomaly on which he most insists

* *A Treatise on the Election of Representatives, Parliamentary and Municipal.* By Thomas Hare, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. London: Longmans, 1859.

is to be found in the circumstance that minorities are practically silenced. Every part of the nation, except the majority of voters for the time being, is unrepresented, whilst even that small portion (about a quarter of the electors under the most favourable supposition) is restrained to a choice between a very small number of candidates, who are practically chosen by election agents, and who are in no sense whatever the representatives of any individual preference on the part of any considerable number of the electors. The voters for the borough of Marylebone, for example, were called upon, on Thursday last, to exercise their franchise by choosing whether they would be represented by Colonel Romilly or by Mr. Edwin James. The 3000 who voted for Colonel Romilly are altogether unrepresented by the candidate returned, whilst the political opinions and sympathies of a large proportion of those who voted for Mr. James would no doubt dispose them to repudiate in the strongest manner the suggestion that he was, in any other sense than the technical one, the representative of their views. Both these gentlemen are advocates of the ballot—both contend for a large extension of the franchise—both wish for the immediate abolition of church-rates. When we remember the character of the population of large districts of the Borough of Marylebone (which includes great part of Tyburnia), it is impossible to doubt that the choice between Colonel Romilly and Mr. Edwin James was, in a considerable number of cases, very much like the choice offered to the fowls in the fable, between boiling and roasting, and that many of the votes given were virtually no more than ineffectual protests against the less unpleasant branch of the alternative. This is a single instance, though a very significant and important one, of the failure of the existing system to represent not only a very large, but one of the most important sections of the community.

It is difficult to estimate the total amount of virtual disfranchisement which is thus inflicted on the more intelligent part of the voting population. As Mr. Hare observes, the larger constituencies have lost, or are rapidly losing, everything which in the least degree approaches to individuality of character. The number of interests and classes which are crowded together in any large town in the present day is enormous. In old times, a town was a body politic, with its various classes, who had more or less acquaintance with each other, and common objects and interests, however much they might differ in their estimate of them. This has either passed or is rapidly passing away. Large towns are now the seats of many different trades, and number many inhabitants who have only the slightest and most casual connexion with each other. The members elected by such constituencies represent hardly any definite feeling, interest, or class whatever, and the distinctive character of representation diminishes in the ratio in which the number of the constituents increases.

It is to these defects of our electoral system that Mr. Hare proposes to apply a remedy which he says will be self-acting, and will supersede the necessity for those periodical tamperings with the constitution which otherwise must be expected to recur as often as the balance of wealth and population shifts perceptibly. His scheme is worked out with a very characteristic completeness and perspicuity, and he has gone so far as to prepare the draft of a bill setting out in the utmost detail the provisions which would be required to give effect to it. The principal features of his plan are as follows:—

Every year the whole number of voters on the registers of the different constituencies in the United Kingdom is to be certified to the Speaker. He is to divide the total by 654, the number of members in the House. The quotient (which at present would be about 2000) is to represent the number of votes which shall be necessary to entitle any person to sit in the House of Commons. The peculiarity of Mr. Hare's plan is, that it not only provides that no person shall get a seat without 2000 votes, but that every person shall sit who does obtain them. This is provided for by the following ingenious contrivance. In each of the three capitals, London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, there is to be a registrar. When a general election takes place, the registrar is to receive the names of all who may choose to offer themselves as candidates, paying a certain sum (Mr. Hare suggests 50*l.*) towards the expenses of the operations which the registrars are to conduct. As soon as the list of candidates is complete, it is to be published in an official list, of which as many copies are to be forwarded to each constituency as it contains members. Each candidate is to specify the constituency to which he tenders his services, and is of course to be at liberty, by canvassing, by addresses, or by whatever other means he may prefer, to forward his views as at present. On the day of election, all the voters for any constituency, town or county, may vote at the polling booths of that constituency, not merely for the candidates who offer themselves to represent it, but for any other person on the general list of candidates. The votes are to be on voting papers, delivered personally, in the form of a numbered list, as for example:—

1. Lord Palmerston
2. Lord John Russell
3. Mr. Bright

—and so on as far as the voter pleases, up to the full number of candidates in the general list. The meaning of this document would be as follows:—"I vote for Lord Palmerston, but if Lord Palmerston has got a seat independently of my vote, then I vote for Lord John Russell, and if Lord John does not require my vote, then I give it to Mr. Bright, and so on throughout the list." Probably few voters would wish to forward the return of more

than ten or twelve candidates, and thus the lists would seldom contain more than that number of names.

The votes being collected, the returning officer would in the first instance ascertain whether any candidate proposed for his constituency had obtained more than the necessary number of votes, counting only those in which his name stood first in the list. If he also stood at the head of the poll in the constituency, he would be returned to Parliament as member for that constituency. The number of members returnable by any constituency would be the quotient of the number of voters, divided by the Parliamentary quota declared by the Speaker, with one over for the remainder. Constituencies whose voters did not come up to the quota would return one member only. Though large constituencies would thus have it in their power to return a vast number of members, it by no means follows that they would do so, for the difference of opinion might be so great that few members would obtain the necessary number of votes; and besides, many voters might dislike all the candidates who came forward, and give their suffrages to persons whom they preferred in other parts of the country. To recur, for instance, to the case of Marylebone. We will suppose it to contain 30,000 voters, and thus to be entitled to return fifteen members. It by no means follows that fifteen different people would each get the 2000 votes necessary to enable any one of them to sit. In fact, the result of the measure would be to make the question of the number of members assigned to each borough a mere matter of name.

After ascertaining how many members had been returned, the returning officer would proceed to cancel the names of the members so returned on the first 2000 voting-papers given in for them, and would assign to the persons whose names stood first on the other papers the votes given to them. These he would forward to the Registrar for London, Edinburgh, or Dublin, as the case might be. Mr. Hare assumes Aberdeen as an illustration, and supposes the following state of things—the quota necessary to return a member being 1840:—

Mr. Sykes has	1850	votes, standing first on the voting papers.
Mr. Leith "	1549	"
Mr. Baillie "	250	"
&c.	&c.	
Mr. Dunlop has	1	"

Mr. Sykes is accordingly returned—the second votes on the ten last voting-papers for him are distributed amongst the other gentlemen to whom they are given—and a list of the other first votes is made out and forwarded to the Registrar at Edinburgh. In some of the smaller boroughs no member would be returned at once. Thus, in Ashburton, suppose that—

Mr. Moffat has	150	votes, standing first on the voting papers.
Sir J. Hogg "	23	"
Mr. Hayne "	14	"
&c.	&c.	

No one would be returned for Ashburton unless some of these gentlemen could make up their quota *alimunde*, but the list would be sent to the Registrar at London for appropriation.

When the registrars had finally received all the voting papers, they would proceed, according to an ingenious system of rules set out at length in Mr. Hare's book, to appropriate the votes to the various candidates in such a way that each voting paper should only operate once, and that the lower votes upon it should only come into operation after it had been shown that, if the higher votes were appropriated to the persons mentioned, they would be thrown away. The votes of the members of each constituency would count first for the candidates of that constituency, and the others in an order settled by the law. The consequence of this would be, that if a Cornish voter put the name of a candidate for the City of London at the head of his list, there would be less probability that the vote would ultimately tell in his favour than if a metropolitan voter did so; whilst a voter for the City might be sure that his vote would have that effect, unless 2000 other such voters had already carried his wishes into effect when his vote was tendered. Every election would thus be, in a sense, unanimous, and every vote would have its weight. Ultimately, the names of the voters who had by this process contributed to the return of each member would be published in a list by themselves, appended to the name of the person whom they had returned. The result, according to Mr. Hare's view, would be to force an individual choice upon every elector, and to give effect to that choice when made. It would also, in his opinion, provide effectually for the representation of every shade of feeling and opinion, and would get rid of all difficulties about the representation of particular localities, as it would enable the minority to express their views by carrying their votes elsewhere, whilst it would afford opportunities for all localities which had any individual preferences to give full effect to them. Indeed, Mr. Hare goes so far as to propose that the Queen in Council should have power, after hearing all who were interested in the matter, to appoint new constituencies whenever any locality or body corporate might apply to be erected into them. The function of constituencies under this system would consist rather in giving an opening to members than in returning them, as their return would depend on their obtaining from some quarter or other the necessary quota of votes. If, for instance, the Great Western Railway Company formed a constituency, the fact that a particular person commanded its suffrages might induce a considerable number of voters in

Cornwall and Devonshire who did not approve of the local candidates, to give him their votes.

It must be quite unnecessary to say that we have not the remotest intention of pledging ourselves to Mr. Hare's plan, or to the theory which it embodies. But its extreme ingenuity, the appreciation which it shows of certain results of our present system, and the high reputation of its author, have induced us to bring it under the notice of our readers.

SOUTHERN LIGHTS AND SHADOWS.*

WHEN poets stand upon one foot till they have completed their tale of a thousand verses, their virtue must be its own reward. It rarely happens that the energy of the physical *tour de force* communicates itself to the mental composition. Easy writing is proverbially equivalent to hard reading; and the sort of easy writing which is engendered by difficult circumstances is not likely to be the better worth struggling through by reason of the inconveniences of its parturition. When Mr. Fowler informs us, by way of preface, that "the following pages were put together at sea, having been written in my bunk during a three days' stiffish gale off the Falklands," we cannot wonder if they betray some traces of the jarring of the elements under which they came into being. The author's excuse for any visible shortcomings involves a certain honest self-accusation. On reading "the Thing" over, he sees "much that requires revision—many a line that reads flippant and flashy enough; but remembering the *genesis* of its composition—those awful lurches which threw ink-horn, paper, and writer upon the floor"—he has "some affection for the M.S. as it stands, blots, blurs, saltwater stains, and all." And so, if he were as tedious as a king, he could find it in his heart to bestow it all upon a worshipful public. Entirely coinciding in Mr. Fowler's appreciation of the flippancy and flashiness of many of his lines, we cannot condone these vices in consideration of the *genesis* which evokes no sentimental hard-weather reminiscences in our own interiors. Mr. Fowler's peptics may perhaps have attained such an enviably seasoned condition after passing Cape Horn as to have allowed him fairly to work out his reminiscences of a three years' life in Australia. But if he has chosen to display his gifts of reading and writing when it would most emphatically appear that there was no need of such vanities, it is our duty to criticise the result as if the author and his ink-horn had been tranquilly and harmoniously working together at a comfortable desk in a well-carpeted room, instead of perpetually rolling to starboard and rolling to larboard till they commingled their emotions upon the cabin floor.

On taking his observations at the end of his three days' gale of composition, Mr. Fowler appears to have discovered that he had not made so much headway, when all was said. Either the chiaroscuro of Australian existence would not arrange itself in as many varieties of composition as might have been wished for in the questionable circumstances of a much agitated bunk, or the material for more pictures was wanting altogether. Clearly, the volume would turn out distressingly small when put into print, and it became requisite to make out the best defence for its too modest brevity. Taking it on Mr. Fowler's assurance that "no man ever strove more zealously to make himself acquainted with a country" than he did during his "sojourn beneath the figtrees" of Australia, we may, it is feared, be surprised at finding the product of so much observation and experience "crushed into a duodecimo." The apparent smallness of the result is an optical delusion—a phenomenon arising "only because, as an old traveller, I have learnt how to pack a good many things in a small compass." It may be safely asserted that there is a limit to the compressibility of substantial changes of raiment even in the portmanteau of the oldest voyager; while the youngest will have no difficulty in reducing his personal luggage to an extremely small compass, if he contents himself with the substitution of a fresh dickey whenever a more cumbersome luxury might suggest that a clean shirt was advisable. Mr. Fowler's "good many things" are of the flimsiest order of observation. Is there any human creature whose interest in Australian doings is in the least degree either excited or satisfied by learning that Lieutenant Perry, "late of the 46th, of court-martial notoriety," made his first appearance on the boards of the Melbourne Theatre? or that Mr. Mather, of Austrian notoriety, has found his vocation before the same scenes? Are we the wiser or the happier for hearing that the brother of "one of the greatest men living in the ranks of English literature" nightly moves the gods of Sydney to rapture by his exquisite comedy? or that a relative of Douglas Jerrold may be seen there looking on with fraternal reverence at the trans-Pacific performance of *Black-eyed Susan*? We are gratified at being told that the Jules Janin of Melbourne is R. H. Horne, the accomplished author of the farthing epic; but before we are quite clear whether the writing of very readable theatrical notices is the main link between Orion and the French novelist, a fresh light is flashed into our bewildered eyes in the announcement that Mr. Horne holds a "Government appointment, and, like Tom Taylor, has something to do with the sewers." Why poor Mr. Tom Taylor, who has never rendered himself amenable to the penal laws of his country,

should be transported, sewers and all, to decorate Mr. Fowler's gallery of Antarctic illustrations, is more than we can answer, unless it be done on the vulgar principle of appealing to the feelings of a London audience by the insertion of a familiar name. Everything is measured by a similar standard. In the pit of the Sydney playhouse, a "transpontine"—(penny-a-liner's Latin for Surrey-side)—"display of shirt-sleeves, babies, and pewter-pots, charms the eye of the Londoner." The Londoner's eye is easily charmed. For our own part, when we make a tour on the Continent, we had rather investigate the genuine cookery and drinks of the country we visit, than daily testify to our nationality by the consumption of bifticks and porter-bier. If Australian life offers nothing newer than is to be seen by crossing Hungerford or Waterloo Bridge, it is cheaper to pay the half-penny toll, and be spared the trouble of reading Mr. Fowler's duodecimo. The facetia of colonial friends, styled "glints of Southern humour," are the mildest and most notorious of extant Joe-Millerisms; and the "sample of a first-class residence," where Aurora Leigh and Mr. Coventry Patmore's poems habitually lie upon the table, round which sit intellectual walking gentlemen and literary ladies, might find its counterpart somewhere among the villas which have sprung up like mushrooms in the newly-colonized suburbs of the Sydenham Palace. Mr. Fowler appears not so much to have studied Australian life in general, as "life" in Australia in the most superlatively Cockney sense of the word. Those who are anxious to attend the lectures of Lola Montez in London will be interested in hearing, on Mr. Fowler's authority, that she is "a very simple-mannered, well-behaved, eager-loving young person." Moralists who delight in groaning over their brothers' delinquencies will find the same grounds for so doing in Melbourne and in Middlesex. The same philanthropic panaceas are applied in both hemispheres, with much the same effect on the evils they are intended to eradicate. Melbourne is provided with five religious commissions, an Evangelical Alliance, a Tract Society, numerous Bible classes, five museums, a public library, several mechanics' schools of arts, and about a dozen hospitals and other benevolent institutions. "Slight," indeed, as Mr. Fowler admiringly observes, "is the palliation vice can urge in its behalf." Healthy recreation is provided for the intellectual colonist, as it would seem, *usque ad nauseam*. Besides theatres and concert-rooms, and the institutions already mentioned, there are a society of fine arts, a philosophical institute, seven club-houses, four learned associations, a Young Man's Christian Society, several Mutual Improvement classes, and two Philharmonic Societies. It is nevertheless a melancholy, and, to Mr. Fowler, an unintelligible fact, that, after months of hard labour at the gold diggings, men "will come down to Melbourne with their belts full of nuggets, and squander all in the course of a few days in the low grog-shop or the lower hell." The poor misguided brute creation will not always drink, however kindly a superior intelligence may lead them to the water; but both the proverb and its application are something musty.

Here is a noticeable fact in natural history, illustrative of the ways of Providence in connexion with bullocks:—

Their facial protusion—that is, the angle at which the mouth is projected from the upper part of the head—prevents the horns of one sticking into the hind quarters of another in front of him; while the breadth of the back, compared with that of the head, is a safeguard to the animals at either side. The first fact is the reason why bullocks lower their heads and butt upwards, instead of forwards, when they wish to strike with their horns; and the second, why in a herd, however apparent the confusion, the broad posterior quarters of the animals are made pretty much to range.

Here be truths, indeed, worthy of Mr. Waterton or Mr. White of Selborne. It is singular that they should have been first discovered by Mr. Fowler in the Australian Continent, which was not originally provided with ruminating animals. We take it, that a visit to the purlieus of Smithfield might have elicited from obscurity at least so much of the peculiarities of design in the creation of oxen. But then the fact would not have shone out as a "glint of southern humour."

Leaving Mr. Fowler entangled among his mighty herd of oxen, and recommending him to stew down his next boiling of observations and experiences to a stronger and still more portable gelatinous consistency, we turn to Mr. Kelly. His gleanings are of far more intrinsic value, as a real sample of life in the gold fields and cities of Australia. The habits and the temperament of a more genuine wanderer have enabled him to see and practically take a part in much which to the reporter, fresh, or rather jaded, from attendance on the House of Commons, remained either unseen or unappreciated. A freer if a coarser touch, restrained by less of fastidious reticence in the portrayal of scenes and manners which may frequently shock old-world politeness very considerably, has impressed upon his volumes the character of graphic, but not pleasant truthfulness. There is no reason to suspect that the colouring is overloaded, or the drawing exaggerated; but they do not form a delightful or refined picture. It by no means follows of necessity that he who paints coarse people must himself be coarse. The conscientious earnestness of pre-Raffaellism will reconcile many a delicate-minded man to handling painfully and representing minutely the deformities of nature. If the work be worth doing at all, it is worth doing well; and to be well done, it must be done accurately. But if the reconciliation to an unpleasant self-imposed necessity should grow by habitual practice into anything like a relish for the stronger and coarser flavours

* *Southern Lights and Shadows; or, Life in Australia.* By Frank Fowler. London: Sampson Low, Son, and Co. 1859.
Victoria in 1853 and 1858. By William Kelly. London: Chapman and Hall. 1859.

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of art, literature, or life, it is not so well for the painter or writer's personality as for the strength of his work; and the work itself must sooner or later suffer the consequences of its author's coarsening qualities. Where the traveller has by choice habitually knocked about the morally dirtiest and most unredempted sinks and sloughs of the world, with no particular object beyond that of pastime or money-making, it is probable that he may by degrees forget the tact which draws the line between the literary entertainment of a respectable or a lower public. If the gentleman who corrected the press of these volumes, after Mr. Kelly's departure for the latest discovered gold fields of British Columbia, had thought himself justified in exercising editorial supervision so far as to cut out a few phrases and a few anecdotes which go beyond the furthest boundaries of raciness, if not to the verge of nastiness, he would have enabled them to lie suitably and decently upon a far wider range of drawing-room tables. It is quite right that a spade should be called a spade; but it is possible to exercise a degree of unreserve in the manner of analysing the muck which clings to a spade in its legitimate handling, which shall be neither agreeable nor justified by utility. If Mr. Kelly's main object in painting so painfully all the ruffianism and brutality in vogue in 1853 at the Australian diggings was to disgust the strongest-stomached readers with the whole subject, he has probably gone a long way towards success. In any other case, his colours, however subdued (as he asserts) in comparison with the reality, are laid on more coarsely than was required to produce a true effect. There is a luxurious superfluity of unpleasantness, which only the moral digestion of an ostrich would be able to overcome in a practical trial.

The first and easiest lesson to be drawn from Mr. Kelly's reminiscences is but another illustration of the truth of the notorious proverb, that if you set a beggar on horseback, he will ride to the devil. Or it might be put in the words which the Eton Latin Grammar has probably rendered familiar to a certain proportion even of the Australian gold-diggers—*effodiantur opea, irritamenta malorum*. Drinking, gambling, stabbing, shooting, cheating, blaspheming, and other congenial eccentricities, would seem to have been, in 1853, the normal amusements of a digger during his spell above ground. All work and no play would make a dull boy even of a gold-grubber; and where the work was at once physically so laborious, and, but for the excitement of its miraculous chances of unlimited remunerativeness, so monotonous in character, it is natural that the pent-up vapours of this human Pandemonium should have escaped in a most explosive manner. Except in the case of solid Scotchmen, or more solid Germans, the greater mass of golden nuggets seem to have departed from their finders at least as quickly as they came. *Afflavit diabolus, et dissipati sunt*. They melted away like the baseless fabric of a vision, under the inspiration of one or other of the devil's coarsest children; and the bankrupt digger dived afresh into the auriferous depths to rehabilitate his fortunes by toiling for a new supply. "I don't make my money like as you do, gentlemen," says one of Mr. Kelly's chance acquaintances at a Melbourne *café*, "I makes mine by fair bloody digging." In the language of railway finance, capital was uniformly treated as revenue, and the dividends were paid and spent accordingly, in the most reckless spirit of making things pleasant for the time. Mr. Kelly mentions one instance in the earlier days of the Ballarat diggings, in which fifty-five thousand pounds were taken out of an area of twenty-four feet square. One-fifth of this prize was realized between a Saturday and the following Monday. It is not surprising that the sight of such a reward for a few days of "fair bloody digging" should have induced a general insanity among the competitors of the lucky prizemen.

In those gold fields where the chief deposit was to be found in the quartz reefs, and where, consequently, more skill, more patience, and more capital were requisite for crushing out the hidden spoils of the rock, the same adage appears to have proved proportionately true. Those who did not begin as absolute beggars resisted more easily the temptation of riding straight to the devil. And even the Ballarat diggings altered very much for the better, at least in superficial decency, before Mr. Kelly's second visit to them, four years later. He found a striking change, not merely in the growth of a handsome and substantial city where a rude array of huts and tents had met his eye on the former occasion, and in the general increase of such comforts and conveniences as brought the diggers undeniable, however questionable, enjoyments more easily within their reach than before, but in the more orderly, equitable, and business-like spirit and method in which the actual operation of gold digging was conducted. An improved code of mining regulations, and the powerful material aid of steam in draining the holes, have turned the process from one of hazardous, selfish, and envious gambling into a reasonable and amicable system of working side by side. Mr. Kelly's account will show that it has been found possible to enforce honour among gold diggers, whether originally thieves or no:—

Now-a-days, when a prospector discovers a new lead, he gets a double sized claim as his reward, and all other subsequent parties rank in rotation. The warden, as soon as the discovery is duly notified, comes and formally proclaims the new lead, after which a surveyor, elected by the suffrage of the claimants, surveys the ground, and registers the names of the various parties according to priority, compelling them to erect pegs or posts at the extremities of their claims with the names of their associates. The surveyor is paid so much per claim, and in all cases of dispute about encroachment or otherwise, he is called upon to go down, examine, and report upon the disagreement. A Committee is then chosen, who manage the

affairs of all the registered claimants along the lead. The area of claims in proclaimed leads is fifty-eight feet along the gutter, and forty-six feet across, and six foot walls dividing each claim. Forty-six feet may appear an extraordinary width across where gutters rarely exceed four feet, but late experience has shown that considerable deposits are frequently found in the pockets or crevices of the reefs on either side the gutter, which are supposed to have been surged up from time to time by the current or water-wave. According to this system leads are accurately traced, for Party 1, if bottomed, first communicates the exact trend of the gutter to his neighbour, having no interest (as in the olden law) in concealing it; and should Party 2 be sinking wide of the lead in the first instance, he desists from his fruitless task, and commences a new hole in the indicated direction. Thus it goes on from the first to the last, and the gutter is accurately followed in all its eccentric sinuosities. But under no circumstances whatever (save idle neglect, of which it is the duty of the committee to take cognizance) can a party be deprived of his right, no matter how the lead may twist and wind.

Much might be said of Mr. Kelly's sketches of other aspects of life in Australia. But if any of our readers wish to enter at length into the details of Southern politics, agriculture, or the social prospects and contrasts of Victoria, they must take the trouble to pick out what they want for themselves from one of the cleverest, coarsest, most rational, and most rollicking, most genuine, and most genuinely unpleasant books that have yet been written about the Land of the Cornstalks.

M. TULLII CICERONIS ORATIONES.*

MR. LONG'S task is completed. The last of four portly volumes—his contribution to the classical series of which he is himself the editor—has at length appeared. These volumes form a highly valuable addition to the scholar's library. It is not too much to say that they have in a great degree conducted to the restoration of the master of Roman eloquence to his proper position in a classical education. Although Cicero is at once the most voluminous and the most multifarious of ancient authors, it cannot be said that his writings have received of late years all the attention which they certainly deserve. His position is in some respects a very peculiar one. The time in which he lived is probably better known to us than any other period of Roman history—it is certainly the period which offers the most intense and varied interest. We are familiar with all the persons of the drama; and the most trifling details of the great catastrophe are better known to us than the occurrences of the French Revolution. Illustrative materials for the history of the time are most abundant—speeches, private letters, contemporary literature of different kinds. We have the history of an internal sedition, and the history of a foreign war; but nothing like a connected general history, the work of a writer of the age, has come down to us. This may help in some degree to account for the comparative neglect into which the works of Cicero had fallen. It was not easy to fit them into a course of study. His *Epistles and Orations*, in spite of the light which they reflect on the history of the period, are not history; and his philosophical writings, in spite of the light which (as Mr. Long says very truly) they throw on the history of philosophy, can hardly be called philosophy. The following observations on the literary merits of his orations will be read with interest:—

His great merit is that of a writer on oratory, and a writer of orations. He was a perfect master of a difficult art, which he had acquired by great labour, and which he practised to the end of his life. In clearness, fulness, life, and energy, his style has never been surpassed. The only fault is, that he sometimes has too much of the florid Asiatic style, and that his metaphors, which are abundant, are not always consistent with propriety and good taste. But this is a fault of the Latin language, this abundance of metaphor, and one of the main reasons why Latin is sometimes difficult to understand, and often very difficult to translate. Cicero's best orations are inferior to nothing that the Greeks have left, and in some respects I think that they are superior. He handled the matter that was before him with the most perfect skill. He could confuse a thing, if he chose, and make a web of sophistry, which it is almost impossible to disentangle. What he wished to make clear, he could state in the simplest, plainest, and most forcible way, and he generally did it in short sentences. His way of telling a story or an anecdote is the best that could be: he does not weary us; he moves on quick, and lets us off before we are tired, which an unskilful teller of stories never does. He could be humorous, sarcastic, ironical, satirical; and when he was malignant, his mouth was most foul and his bite most venomous. His argumentative power, his way of handling given facts, and getting out of them all that he wanted for his purpose, is really admirable, and more admirable than easy to imitate.

It will be observed that Mr. Long calls Cicero, not an orator, but "a writer of orations." It is well known that several of his most celebrated productions were never actually delivered. The second *Actio* of the Verrine orations is nothing more than a voluminous pamphlet; and the splendid oration in defence of Milo was actually composed after the trial was over, and when the subject of it was indemnifying himself for his voluntary exile by feasting on the delicious mullets of Marseilles. But even with regard to those orations which were actually spoken, the learned editor believes that they were generally written beforehand, and in many cases improved afterwards. In some instances, indeed, the orator does not seem to have taken the trouble even to "mandate" his speech, as they say in Scotland, but appears to have read it from the manuscript, like an orthodox English sermon. Thus, in his defence of Cu. Plancius, Cicero informs us that his maiden speech in the Senate-house was read, not on account of his inexperience as an orator, but from the importance of the occasion. *Recitetur oratio, quæ propter rei magnitudinem dicta de scripto est*. In a note upon this passage

* *M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationes*. With a Commentary by George Long. Vol. IV. London: Whittaker. 1838.

Mr. Long extends the remark just made to the ancient orators generally:—

Perhaps all the Greek and Roman orations which remain have been carefully revised after delivery, and many of them were probably written before they were delivered. The facile art of standing up and pouring out words was certainly not much valued by the ancient orators or their hearers. Accordingly an oration was a thing well prepared and rehearsed, and sometimes written to be read only.

But in spite of the savour of the lamp, Mr. Long believes that Roman eloquence was far more telling than that which passes current among ourselves. Its strength lay to a great extent in *improvisatio*. Referring to a certain chapter of Quintilian, he says that we may learn from it—

How much more there was in Roman oratory than in the frigid talk of our men who are called speakers. . . . We who read the ancient orators have only a part of what they said; and the Greek dramatists are feebly conceived by the mere reading of them, particularly when they are read by a man who has little feeling for art. . . . The great master of oratory, Demosthenes, laid so much stress on "pronuntiatio," that he considered it the first, and indeed the only thing—an exaggerated expression, but intended to show what he thought of "pronuntiatio." In truth, human speech is the greatest power that man possesses, and the most abused, misused, and neglected.

Of course this difference between Roman and English oratory is very much one of climate and national character. It is illustrated by the difference between a sermon in an Italian *duomo* and one in an English cathedral.

In the extract from Mr. Long's preface which we have given above, the difficulty of translating from Latin is ascribed, among other causes, to the "abundance of metaphor" in that language. The same thing is said substantially in another place:—

Latin metaphors frequently cannot be reconciled to the usage of modern languages; and this is precisely the reason why Latin is so difficult to translate. The Greek writers of the best time are easier to translate, because they have much less metaphor.

We should have been disposed to put the same thing in a somewhat broader and more comprehensive way. A certain indirectness of expression, of which the free use of metaphors is one development, appears to characterize the literary productions of an advanced civilization. Upon a survey of the course of our own literature, we are struck by the gradual and steady increase of this character in it. There is a marked difference in this respect even between the last and the present century, only rendered more conspicuous by a single exception. In the indirect and allusive character of his style, as well as in his general tone of thought, Gibbon altogether anticipates the writers of the nineteenth century. We recognise in this, as well as in other respects, the similarity existing between the golden age of Roman literature and our own, and the unlikeness of both to the period of the great Attic prose writers and orators. Demosthenes and Æschines are uncommonly plainspoken. They call a spade a spade. Accordingly, one main difficulty in translating their words is to prevent their simplicity from degenerating, as in an English dress it often will degenerate, into baldness. In Latin writers, however, and above all in Cicero, who perhaps represents this tendency in its fullest development, we have to contend with a double difficulty, as we have to reconcile the indirectness of the original with the indirectness of modern English—a task frequently almost hopeless. Nevertheless, it is precisely this difficulty which gives the Latin language, and Cicero in particular, so high a value for educational purposes. Mr. Long has some sensible remarks in his preface on the writings of his author, regarded as materials of a classical education:—

Such a writer is well worth studying; and he has left behind him more than most people will have time to read with care. In fact, out of the wreck of antiquity there is still left enough, and more than enough, good matter for a man to employ his life on; and much more than any person can read whose classical studies are only intended to be a part of his education and a useful discipline. Instead, therefore, of recommending young men to read more of the best ancient writers than they do, and to read even those of little value, of whom there is plenty, I think that they should read only as much as they can read well in a limited time; for it is only by reading well, and not by reading much, that a man is formed and fashioned for use. Those who have leisure to continue their classical studies in after life, though literature may not be their occupation, can select what best suits their taste; but I think that every man of sense would rather read over twenty times something good than waste his time on what is of less value; his object being, as I presume, improvement and pleasure, and not the idle curiosity of reading something because it is either old or new, or because nobody else reads it. That kind of reading is intemperance, and a sign of an unhealthy appetite. For the same reason, I suppose a man of sense would rather see a few choice works of art every day than run about to look at all the rubbish which ill-directed industry has produced.

I think that a careful study of some of Cicero's orations is an excellent discipline for youth; but it is not easy for young students to read these orations with profit. The Greek and Roman orators ought to be the last writings which a young student is brought to, and this remark applies more particularly to Cicero. The matter is so varied, a great deal of it so technical, the facts alluded to are so numerous, and sometimes so incorrectly stated, that in this alone there is enough to perplex even a clever and diligent student. Again, Cicero's argumentation is often so subtle that it is hard to seize it; and since, as I have hinted, he does not always intend to be plain, or to instruct, but to be obscure and to mislead, it requires long practice to see what he meant. Under the simple easy form of Cicero's language there lurk difficulties which some do not discover and none can explain.

The following hint to College tutors and schoolmasters, the result of the editor's private experience, deserves their best attention:—

We read an oration of Cicero or a Greek play bit by bit: we examine it as we go along, dissect it, and make a demonstration on the body. The process is necessary, in order that the student may see each part well, and examine it minutely. But though this troublesome process is necessary in order to know what the thing is, if we leave it after this operation in its dissected state, it is

indeed a defunct, lifeless body. To reanimate it, to show all the proportions of this noble structure, is the business of the teacher. He should read over the whole to his class in the best language that he can find, and he should do it, if the thing is short, at a sitting; and if it is long, he should do it in a few sittings as he can. He need not trouble himself about parts that are corrupt, or so difficult as to be almost unintelligible: he may pass over such things lightly. His object is to let the student see what the thing is altogether; and if it is a work of genius and art, genius and art will show themselves by being presented in their entire and simple beauty. It is not an easy thing for a teacher to do well what I have suggested. Some will do it better than others; but I believe that all who have competent knowledge will, with a little practice do it well enough to please their hearers, and be pleased themselves too with the profit which they will get. As to the students, I suppose out of a class of twenty a few would not attend very much, no more than they attend to their usual lessons; but a great many will attend carefully and will be pleased and instructed. Having often made the experiment, I can speak with confidence of its success.

Mr. Long is a thoroughly good scholar, although not absolutely free, as we venture to think, from certain philological crochets. He also possesses the even less common qualification of a competent knowledge of Roman law and Roman antiquities. On this account, he is peculiarly valuable as a commentator on Cicero's orations, especially on those which belong to the judicial type of oratory. But it must not be imagined that he is a mere technical scholar, or a mere dry archæologist. He enters thoroughly into the spirit of the eventful period with which he has to deal. Take, for example, the following remarks on the personal character and historical position of the great orator, whom he elsewhere compares, not unaptly, to "the greatest, wisest, meanest of mankind":—

The extant orations of Cicero belong to a period of near forty years, from the twenty-sixth year of his age to the year of his death, when he was past sixty-three. He lived in a time of commotion and revolution. As he says himself, between his youth and his old age he had seen five civil wars. His ambition and his abilities led him to seek the highest honours in Rome, and he, the native of a small Italian town, made his way to the consulship and to the most conspicuous position in the Roman state after Cæsar. In one difficult emergency he showed judgment and energy, in the affair of Catilina and his associates, and we may admit that he was, as Augustus is reported to have said of him, "a wise man and a lover of his country." But he lived in difficult times, and found himself in an awkward position between opposing factions; and this with his great timidity, which, however, he vehemently denied, as timid people do more than the courageous, is some excuse for his irresolution, insincerity, and duplicity. After being humbled to the dust by his exile and by Cæsar's usurpation, he rose again and maintained a last and desperate struggle against M. Antonius and his faction. He was the only man in the senate, so far as we know, who showed either honesty or courage in prosecuting the war against Antonius. He knew it was a contest for his own life, and he perished in the fight, betrayed by men in whom he trusted, and outwitted by the boy, as he called young Cæsar.

No man can read Cicero's Orations and his Letters without discovering that he falls far below the measure of a generous, sincere and noble character. The evidence against him is himself. Some of my notes in which I have made remarks about him might lead a reader to suppose that I have taken a pleasure in pointing out the weak or the bad parts of his character; but I am conscious that I have had no intention to do so, that when I began this work I had a better opinion of him, and it is not my fault if a man's character will not stand against the evidence which he has himself produced. I believe that as a private man, though very vain and resentful, he was much better than most of his contemporaries; and as to his public life, we must make the same liberal allowance which ought to be made to all men who are engaged in political matters. We must admit that it is very difficult for a statesman to be perfectly honest, even if he wishes it, for he must try to please a great many people, and often get to good ends, or such as he thinks good, by indirect and crooked ways. We may also certainly conclude that he who is strictly honest and unbending, is not fit for the direction of political affairs, though he may be very useful in keeping in some kind of order those who have more taste for such business and less scruples than himself.

The editor evidently has the historic sense strongly developed; but he has also that without which history is lifeless and unpractical—a keen interest in that which is taking place around him. He seeks for the illustrations of history in modern politics, and by doing so evinces that the records of the ancient world are not wholly removed from present interest. We regret our inability to transcribe his sketch of the history of bribery at Rome, which, as he says, is "instructive for those modern nations in which bribery is practised." To give another example of the practical way in which he dovetails the ancient and modern worlds into one another, we will extract a string of passages from his notes and *excursus*, through which a strong anti-Gallican and anti-Imperial feeling shines transparently:—

Cicero in a letter to Atticus (vii. 3) describes Cæsar's followers in the civil war as consisting of all the worst men—men who had been convicted of crime or who deserved to be: *Omnes qui ere alieno premantur, quos plures esse intelligo quam putaram: causam solum illa causa non habet: ceteris rebus abundat*. There was some truth in this. Cæsar had the insolvents with him, and they are always the ready tools of a usurper, as we have seen by a recent example in France.

The following is in more general terms:—

Suetonius speaks of Cæsar's *congiaria*. He paid his old soldiers well, and he gave the people something too. A modern usurper need not care for the people, but he must please his soldiers.

So much for the Colonels. The following is a sketch of a despotism contrasted with democracy:—

Rome was in ancient times the greatest example of a popular government, and a more signal example than any modern nation. . . . The condition of a free people is one of restlessness, for the active and ambitious having the road open before them, crowd into it and stir up the voters to help them. Such a government is a noisy, uneasy sort of thing, disagreeable to quiet people, full of corruption, and sometimes shaken by violent tempests, but we must be content with it, or with something like it, unless we would sink into the dull leaden sleep which despotism flings over the eyes of people, while it gags their mouths and picks their pockets.

What comes next has to do with national character. Upon

the passage (Pro Milone, c. 35) *Ex omnibus præmiis virtutis amplissimum esse præmium gloriam*, Mr. Long says:—

I have in several places touched on Cicero's glory. Here it is the fame and reputation which survive the man, and by anticipation console him in life. . . . The French talk and write much of "glory." A great deal of their glory is a very mean trivial matter, below Cicero's present definition. . . . The English are sparing in speaking of glory. Their talk is more of profit, something more substantial than the Frenchman's glory. Ideas like glory, differently conceived by different nations, make a large part of their respective character, and affect human affairs much more than many people may suppose.

Again:—

The Galli at a very early period were in North Italy. . . . About B.C. 279, under Brennus, these terrible marauders found their way into the centre of Greece, and attempted to plunder Delphi. The pillage of sacred places has continued a Gallic fashion to the present day.

It will be inferred from the extracts already given that Mr. Long's style is as piquant as the subject will altogether admit of. Even his antiquarianism is frequently amusing. There is nothing in the world so dull as your mere technical archaeologist, while no man has a better opportunity of purveying amusement than one who goes into the study of antiquity armed with a sense of the grotesque. Mr. Long is not a *Dryadust*, as the following evidences will show:—

Hermann refers to Macrobius, who says that Vatinius was pelted by the people at his gladiators' show. It is one of the ancient jokes, and not bad: *Lapidatus a populo Vatinius cum gladiatorum munus ederet, obtinuerat ut adiles edicerent ne quis in arenam nisi pomum misisset vellet. Forte his rebus Cascellius (jurisconsultus) consultus a quodam an nux pinea pomum esset, respondit: Si in Vatinius missurus es, pomum est.*

Hear our editor's advice about wine-drinking:—

Abrami, who collects curious things, has cited a passage from Pliny (xxii. 24), who tells us that Pollio Romilius, who was then above a hundred years old, healthy and strong, was asked by Augustus how he had lived, and his answer was "Intus mulso, foris oleo." He kept his inside moist with "mulsum," wine mixed with honey, and rubbed his skin with oil. . . . Abrami knew a man who had reached the same age by observing two rules—one was to take no medicine, and the other to drink pure wine. The first rule is undoubtedly good for those who can do without physic; and the second rule, too, is excellent. If a man will drink wine, let it be good. Louis Cornaro, in his old age, and he reached near a hundred, made wine a chief part of his food. Ninon de l'Enclos is said to have drunk only water; but she died somewhat short of ninety. Zaleucus, who legislated for the Locri Epizephyrii, must have made a great mistake when he punished a man with death who drank unmixed wine without a physician's prescription. Perhaps drunkenness had become common, and Zaleucus anticipated the Maine liquor law.

The advice to drink pure wine is, as Mr. Long says, "excellent," but we think it is scarcely calculated for the latitude of England. He should have added "for those who can get it." "Abrami, who collects curious things," has also furnished our editor with data for certain reflections on the gentler sex:—

Muretus, says Abrami, collected eight examples of women turning furious, when they were neglected or despised. W. Canter added five more, a rich addition to psychological science. Potiphar's wife is the first of the five, to which he adds the case of Bellerophon, Peleas, and Hippolytus, and a fifth, a story from Roman history, probably more true than the three last mentioned, contained in Plutarch's *Parallels of Greek and Roman History*.

We will not venture to trespass any further upon such delicate ground, neither will we trouble our readers with any more *excerpts* from Mr. Long's volume. We do not know whether it is his intention to add the other writings of Cicero to the *Bibliotheca Classica*. He speaks of "having finished a work" which has cost much time, and as having arrived at the end of his labours. He must have collected an immense amount of matter during the prosecution of his task, which would assist him in the work of compiling a commentary on the other writings of Cicero, more particularly on the *Epistles* and rhetorical treatises. We shall be glad to learn that it is Mr. Long's intention to continue his useful labours.

SPENCE'S ANECDOTES.*

SPENCE'S *Anecdotes* are one of the great sources of information for our knowledge of the literary history of the eighteenth century in England. The author was a kindly and refined man, who took delight in the society of the best men of his day, and duly made notes of their conversation at night. Of course, a common-place book of this sort is a kind of draught-net in which good and bad are indifferently mixed together. Moreover, the fragmentary style of the work is a drawback upon its general interest; no one ought to read it who is not already pretty well acquainted with the men and times it deals with. But those who come to it in this way, from knowing the works of Pope and Swift, and with a few recollections of literary biography, will find that *Spence's Anecdotes* have a curious unity of their own. The author lived as a friend with that Pope of whom Johnson and Lord Macaulay have only thought as the venomous foe of Addison. Bolingbroke, who to us is nothing more than an Alcibiades in ruffles whose first adventure was his Syracuse, is a great and god-like form to mild Mr. Spence, who sits in the outer circle as a friend's friend, and accepts the halo on trust; while little scandalous stories record Mr. Pope's dislikes, and Sappho and Atticus are impaled again. There is something very touching in the simplicity with which the writer's impressions are recorded. We can

* *Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters of Books and Men.* Collected from the Conversation of Mr. Pope, and other eminent Persons of his time, by the Rev. Joseph Spence. With Notes, and a Life of the Author, by S. W. Singer, F.S.A. London: J. Russell Smith.

trace a poetical justice in all this. For three quarters of a century the world judged Pope, from his own writings and by public report, to be "all stiletto and mask." Suddenly a book appeared whose author had only known the great satirist as a gentle and kind friend, with a warm heart, and with a deep inward Christianity. The poet had all the while been a hero to his valet de chambre, or perhaps, the valet de chambre had a truer sense of the heroic than the world.

The truth lies, we suspect, between these two hypotheses. Those who do not analyse Pope's poems may easily lose sight of the man's impulsive nature in the mechanic's finished work. Judged merely by the varnish—and there is still a school, we believe, which holds that the *Satires* are nothing else but varnish—Pope writes without real feeling, and very often without real thought. There are a host of imperfect passages, descriptions of impossible moonlight, sham pastorals, faulty historical comparisons, and shallow aphorisms introduced to botch up a rhyme. His famous distich on religious tolerance, was a mere adaptation from Cowley, as his great Essay on Man was a poetical rechauffé of Bolingbroke. But when his false and his borrowed beauties are withdrawn, there remains something grander yet which is Pope himself—indignant at all meanness, proud that he has dared to attack infamous wealth, fond of dwelling upon the names of his friends or the memory of his parents. A truer gentleman than Pope would have been sorrowfully silent under Addison's presumed treachery. The little sickly poet had lost a friend for the first and only time, and he could not be silent. He was fond of intrigue; be it so; but his intrigues, as Lady Bolingbroke said, were for cabbages and turnips; they did not colour the simplicity of his affections. A worse and a true charge is, that he lapsed into occasional basenesses. He satirized the pompous gentleman from whom he had received favours, or the old Tisiphone of Blenheim, who was a woman and infirm; and he shuffled and lied to escape the odium of a charge which he scarcely wished to be disbelieved. But there must have been real good in a man who was the friend through life of the morbid Swift, the epicurean Gay, and the blustering Warburton; who never sold himself when the whole nation had its price; and who clung with a chivalrous loyalty to a faith proscribed by the laws, and ridiculed by philosophers. Above all, Pope was essentially a man. No threats of personal vengeance from the furious victims of the *Dunciad* disturbed his solitary rambles near Twickenham. He writhed under the blows dealt him by his brothers of the craft, but he never shrunk from them; and this fearlessness has been transfused into his style, which exhibits the rare moral excellence of nervous and clear thoughts in appropriate words. It is this essential quality which, in spite of ruffles and bag-wig, has made him, down to our own times, the truest English translator of Homer.

So much of the matter of Spence, divested of his peculiar views, has been inserted in the standard biographies of Pope, that our quotations must be made with a view to illustrating his specific conception of the poet, rather than in the hope of supplying much that is new or interesting. So greatly, however, are words changed from their fashionable acceptance under the earlier Georges, that it is necessary to construct a glossary as we proceed. Sir John Suckling is called "immoral" because he cheated at cards. Fenton is described as "a right honest man. He is fat and indolent; a very good scholar; sits within and does nothing but read or compose." The explanation of moral worth is a curious one. But the most singular contrast of the spirit of those times with the spirit of these is what occurred at the death-bed of the poet. "In the morning," says Mr. Spence, "after the priest had given him the last sacraments, he said, 'there is nothing that is meritorious but virtue and friendship; and, indeed, friendship itself is only a part of virtue.'" These are decorous ethical sentiments, but a Seminarian of our own times would be apt to look with considerable suspicion on them. Nevertheless, Hooke told Warburton "that the priest whom he had provided to do the last office to the dying man came out from him, penetrated to the last degree with the state of mind in which he found his penitent, resigned and wrapt up in the love of God and man." It is melancholy to think that, after the lapse of a century, there should be fewer men than there were to see the essential religion of a dying philosopher quite destitute of theological faith.

It has always been a question how far Pope understood the classical languages. Spence, who was probably a competent judge, appears to have rated his qualifications high. One or two anecdotes that he gives are certainly to the point. "When I consulted him about the Hades of the ancients, he referred immediately to Pindar's Second Olympic Ode, Plutarch's *Treatise de Iside et Osiride*, the four places that relate to it in the *Odyssey*, (though this was so many years after he had done that translation,) Plato, Lucretius, and some others, and turned to the very passages, in most of them with a surprising readiness." Knowledge of this kind seems to imply something more than a school-boy's capacity to read Homer with Mme. Dacier's translation by his side. On another occasion we find him solving the question whether there were one or two Capitols at Rome. His edition of the *Poeta Italici*, perhaps, shows more appreciation of the modern element in Italian Latinity than of scholar-like touches. On the other hand, we have the curious fact that Pope's acquaintance with French, a comparatively easy language, was very imperfect. Probably, in every instance, he had read sufficiently to have a large vocabulary of words, but was ignorant

of the minutæ of grammar. There is other evidence that his mind was somewhat deficient in severe training. He could not understand Plato, and considered some of his and Cicero's arguments on the immortality of the soul "very foolish." Once he expressed an opinion that there was a fashion in reasoning. This incapacity of origination power, perhaps, made him all the better fitted to reflect in verse the clear scepticism of his friends. It was only when the *Essay on Man* was published that Pope learned with horror from his critics what conclusions might be tortured out of it, and retired in dismay behind Warburton's theological buckler. The matchless logical fence of Scriblerus belongs, no doubt, to Arbuthnot, one of the greatest names in wit, and the least known.

Bolingbroke appears but seldom, and his name is mentioned with a sort of awful reverence. Pope considered him far superior to Lord Peterborough. "He sits like an Intelligence, and recollects all the questions within himself." Spence appears to have shared the fascination. "I really think there is something in that great man (Lord Bolingbroke) which looks as if he was placed here by mistake." "There is so; and when the comet appeared to us a night or two ago, I had sometimes an imagination that it might possibly be come to our world to carry him home, as a coach comes to one's door for other visitors." Perhaps it is even more astonishing to hear that "Lord Bolingbroke in everything has been acting for the good of the public for these twenty-five years, and without any view to his own interest." The world knew nothing of its most disinterested man. Bolingbroke's philosophy failed him when Pope's life was fading away visibly. Tears were neither uncommon nor disgraceful in those days; the poet himself always wept on reading a pathetic passage; and Bolingbroke could not restrain his sobs in the presence of his friend. Before others he abandoned himself to grief. "I have known him these thirty years, and value myself more for that man's love than—(sinking his head and losing his voice in tears)." It is a pity that inexorable history has long ago recorded the earthly end of this love. Pope, with his unfeeling appetite for intrigue, and perhaps with a good-natured wish to perpetuate his friend's fame, had printed a number of surreptitious copies of the *Patriot King*, which the author desired to keep from the public. After Pope's death Bolingbroke discovered the trick, and was never able to forgive it.

It is not easy to estimate the exact value of such a book as this. The author's intimacy with the men he describes, and the wide range of his anecdotes, will always make it one of the chief authorities for the lives of Pope and his contemporaries. To some minds it will probably go far to neutralize the impression commonly extant of the poet's character. A man with so many warm friends and such keen sensibilities will appear incapable of having libelled Halifax and Chandos behind their backs. A truer inference probably is, that there lies a deep gulf between a man's private character and his relations with the world. Late commercial disclosures have exhibited excellent fathers of families as unscrupulous public cheats. Our novelists love to show the reverse of the medal—to paint a man who is great at public meetings and lavish in the relief of distress, while he beats his wife and neglects his children. These discrepancies are illogical, but there is often no conscious hypocrisy in the actors. A man may be puzzle-headed or corruptible and yet have a warm heart, or, with naturally impulsive sympathies, he may be incapable of restraining his temper under those petty trials of life which are three-fourths in its sum of annoyance. Admit all this, and the character of such men as Pope and Voltaire is comparatively easy to explain. The pursuits of a literary man are so far feminine, that they tend to impress a sort of womanly type upon his feelings. He is shut out from action, and compelled to feed upon his thoughts and experiences—hence he is commonly garrulous and sensitive, quick to anger and bitter in resentment, though a depth of kindly nature may lie beneath. Pope, in addition to all this, had a morbid taint in his blood, and a worthless woman constantly at his side. It is scarcely surprising that such a character, at such an epoch, should have been wanting in self-discipline and in the greatness of quiet simplicity. Rather we may rejoice to find that beneath and above the author there lived the man.

Mr. Singer has added only a preliminary notice to his first edition of 1819. Fortunately, he is one of those editors in whose first work little needs to be changed. The notes are sensible and few, and the index, though not altogether adequate, has been carefully and well compiled.

ADAM BEDE.*

IT is not often that it is safe to praise a novel, for although a little over-tenderness may not only be acceptable, but even useful, to an author whose promise is better than his performance, and may guide the regular novel-reader to a book that is better than usual, it has the bad effect of making persons waste their time who do not wish to read novels unless they are really good. But *Adam Bede* is a novel that we can have no remorse in speaking well of. Persons who only read one novel a year—and it is seldom that more than one really good novel is published in a year—may venture to make their selection, and read *Adam Bede*. Whatever faults they may discover in it, they will also

find that it contains things which stamp it as a book by itself, leaving new impressions and awakening new feelings. The author has got into an original field of observation, and as he has very great powers of observing, and a happy method of making his detached points of observation into a connected whole, he gives us something we have not had before. He is evidently a country clergyman, and the object of his observation has been the rustic life of a village in one of the central counties—a very unpromising object of observing to most men, but most men are not observers. We all know that a country carpenter may have a history and a character—plans, hopes, and regrets—which, if unfolded before us, would interest us as much as the revelation of the secrets of a richer man. But between the educated man and the country carpenter there is generally an impassable barrier. It is easy to ascertain that he wears a flannel-jacket, that he is civil and not drunk; but to go a step further, to guess even whether he thinks you civil and not drunk, is by no means so easy. Every now and then, however, the carpenter comes across the path of a gentleman who has a natural gift for understanding him, and then, if this gentleman will take the trouble not only to exercise his faculty, but to record the result, we arrive at some sort of knowledge of the carpenter. This is what the author of *Adam Bede* has done. Adam Bede is a carpenter, and his acquaintances are farmers and blacksmiths. It is a real credit for a writer to have made such characters realities, and not have made them, as most novelists who attempt the thing do, mere lay figures on which the authors hang their old shooting-jackets, while they walk round in an evening dress smirking and pointing out how jolly and genial they are with their own old clothes.

We see the process by which the book has attained its excellence when we examine the sketches of characters that are entirely subordinate. Sometimes we have capital sketches, even when the character is introduced once, and is evidently introduced only that the sketch may be given. We have, for instance, a description of an adult night-school, the only object of which is to introduce sketches of three of the scholars. They were rustics whom the author had studied, and these studies are brought in to fill up a corner of the larger picture. In these sketches, slight as they are, there is great merit; and it may be remarked that mere observation is never enough to make even a slight sketch good. There must be something more than the faculty of noting distinct, telling, characteristic points—there must be a central idea of the subject of the sketch around which minutæ are to be grouped. There must be something that answers to the hypothesis in experimental inquiry—something that comes from the observer, not the observed—a general key to the character which the drawer of the character assumes at first, and then proves by elaborating it. In its widest and highest form, the power of adding to observation the element of the observer's own thought is humour, and no one can doubt that in *Adam Bede* there is real humour of a rare and genuine kind. Mrs. Poyser, a farmer's wife, is a really humorous creation, and she is humorous with the humour of truth, and not of exaggeration. The Hall Farm is like a farm with a real dairy to be kept clean, and real maids to be scolded, not a mere theatrical farm, intended to display the powers of the first and second rustic clown. And yet every sentence that Mrs. Poyser says has something entertaining in it. She is so consistent, so busy and practical, so warm-hearted, and so very sharp with her tongue.

The continuity of character is so well kept up, not only in Mrs. Poyser, but in Adam Bede and in Mrs. Poyser's two nieces, with whom Adam successively falls in love, that it would be unfair to speak of the tale as a series of disconnected sketches; but the continuity is wholly in the characters, and the story, as a story, breaks down. Probably the author found it difficult to hit on any very dramatic and stirring incident in rustic life to make the turning point of his novel; but whatever his difficulties may have been, his choice has been very unfortunate. The story turns on the seduction of one of Mrs. Poyser's nieces by a neighbouring squire. In the early days of the squire's love-making there are some well-imagined scenes, and although we think Hetty in danger, we are not much frightened or shocked. Adam will be rather jealous, but that is all. At the end of the second volume, however, we are plunged into a sea of horrors. Poor Hetty is deserted by her lover, and agrees to marry Adam Bede; but she cannot make up her mind finally to deceive him or herself. She leaves her uncle's house, and sets off southward in quest of her lover. Finally, she bears a child, murders it, is tried for the murder, and sentenced to death. The rope is almost round her neck, when her old lover dashes up to the scaffold bearing a commutation of her sentence into transportation. This series of events takes the author from ground where he is strong to ground where he is weak. He knows and cares nothing about trials, scaffolds, and pardons. He only brings them in because he conceives that a certain allowance of melodrama is a necessary ingredient. The consequence is, that the third volume is weak, poor, and superficial, compared with the other two. We are taken away from the new region of lifelike carpenters and dairymaids into the hackneyed region of sham legal excitement. The degree of horror and painfulness is also out of keeping with the calm simplicity of rural life. Of course, every one knows that every sin under heaven is committed freely in agricultural villages, and if any one chooses to insist that pretty dairymaids are in danger of being seduced,

* *Adam Bede*. By George Eliot. London: Blackwood and Sons. 1859.

he at least keeps within the bounds of fact. But that is no reason why a picture of village character and village humour should be made so painful as it is by the introduction into the foreground of the startling horrors of rustic reality. We do not expect that we are to pass from the discreet love of a well-to-do carpenter to child-murder and executions, and the shock which the author inflicts on us seems as superfluous as it is arbitrary. There is also another feature in this part of the story on which we cannot refrain from making a passing remark. The author of *Adam Bede* has given in his adhesion to a very curious practice that is now becoming common among novelists, and it is a practice that we consider most objectionable. It is that of dating and discussing the several stages that precede the birth of a child. We seem to be threatened with a literature of pregnancy. We have had *White Lies* and *Sylvan Holt's Daughter*, and now we have *Adam Bede*. Hetty's feelings and changes are indicated with a punctual sequence that makes the account of her misfortunes read like the rough notes of a man-midwife's conversations with a bride. This is intolerable. Let us copy the old masters of the art, who, if they gave us a baby, gave it us all at once. A decent author and a decent public may surely take the premonitory symptoms for granted.

There is also some fault to be found with the manner in which the author intrudes himself in the book. Original as he is in all that depends on his own personal observation, he falls, as almost all men fall, under the influences of his age in his general views of life and duty. Evidently he has sat at the feet of Mr. Kingsley, and Mr. Kingsley may in many points be proud of his follower. He is tolerant, large-hearted, sensible, and discreet. But he follows the custom of his school in a direction where that school is very apt to err. He makes a great deal too much of a very slight novelty of opinion at which he has himself arrived, and he puts the merit of holding this opinion on much too grand a footing. The story of *Adam Bede* is supposed to have taken place fifty years ago, and one of the characters is a good, easy-going rector. That such a man, though not fervent in doctrinal controversies, and given to a little quiet sporting, might really be a good and useful man seems a very simple truth, and one that might be advanced without the slightest danger of affronting public opinion at this day. But the author of *Adam Bede* makes what he calls a pause in the story, and, in the language of Maase Headrigg, declares himself willing to "bear testimony in the Grassmarket," and undergo any reasonable sort of martyrdom, while all that he really does is to emit the most harmless and inoffensive proposition. But these are only incidental blemishes in a very meritorious work. After all that can be said against it, *Adam Bede* remains a novel that is rarely rivalled even in these days of abundant fiction writing.

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SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM, W.

On Wednesday next, at 8 P.M. precisely, Mr. JOSEPH CLARKE will lecture "On the Application of Ornament—an Address to the Art-workmen."

Art-workmen may obtain Cards gratis of the Attendant in the Gallery of the Architectural Museum; at the Offices of the "Builder" and "Building News"; or by letter to the Hon. Sec., at 13, Stratford-place, W.

GEO. GILBERT SCOTT, A.R.A., Treasurer.
JOSEPH CLARKE, F.S.A., Hon. Sec.

PROFESSOR OWEN, Superintendent of the Natural History Department, British Museum, will deliver a Course of TWELVE LECTURES on "FOSSIL FISHES," in the Theatre of the MUSEUM OF PRACTICAL GEOLOGY, Jermyn-street, on THURSDAYS and FRIDAYS, at half-past Two, commencing on the 10th March, 1859. Tickets to be had at the Museum, Jermyn-street. Fee for the course, 5s.
RODERICK J. MURCHISON, Director.

BENNETT ON "THE WATCH."—The Lecture will be profusely illustrated with Diagrams, Specimens, and Models of Clocks and Watches. February 22nd, Richmond; March 7th, Ewell; 10th, Crosby Hall; 11th, Leatherhead; 15th, Deamont Institution. Syllabuses at the Watch Manufactory, 66, Cheapside.

ARCHITECTURAL EXHIBITION,

9, CONDUIT STREET, REGENT STREET, W.

Patron—His Royal Highness the PRINCE CONSORT.

Open from Nine till Six, from March 16th, till June 30th.—LECTURES will be delivered on the following TUESDAY EVENINGS, at Eight o'clock:—

March 29th.—By SYDNEY SMIRKE, Esq., A.R.A., "On the Use of Colour in Architecture."

April 5th.—By G. E. STREET, Esq., "On Italian Pointed Architecture."

April 12th.—By T. H. LEWIS, Esq., "On Saracenic Architecture."

April 19th.—By ROBERT KERR, Esq., "On the Works of Michael Angelo."

April 26th.—By FRED. P. COCKERELL, Esq., "On Architectural Proportion."

May 3rd.—By H. C. DUDLEY, Esq., "Remarks on some Architectural Hints to be derived from the Furniture and Ornament of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries."

Single Admission, One Shilling. Season Tickets, admitting to the Exhibition and to all the Lectures, Half-a-Crown. Subscribers of One Guinea may introduce a friend to the Lectures, and those who intend to subscribe, should send their names before March 5th, that they may be printed with the Catalogues.

JAS. FERGUSSON, F.R.A.S., } Hon. Sec.
JAS. EDMESTON, JUN., }

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, LONDON, 67 & 68, HARLEY-STREET, W.—

Incorporated by Royal Charter 1853, for the General Education of Ladies, and for granting Certificates of Knowledge. The HALF TERM in the College and Preparatory Class will begin on MONDAY, February 28th. Prospectuses may be had on application to Mrs. WILLIAMS, at the College Office.

E. H. PLUMPTRE, M.A., Dean.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, LONDON, 67 & 68, HARLEY-STREET, W.—

Incorporated by Royal Charter in 1853, for the General Education of Ladies, and for granting Certificates of Knowledge.

A Special Course of FIVE LECTURES on HOMER will be delivered at 3 P.M. on FRIDAY, March 4th, and the four following Fridays, by the Rev. R. W. BROWNE, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Classical Literature in King's College, London. Fee for the Course, 17s. 6d.

A Syllabus is printed, and may be had on application to Mrs. WILLIAMS at the College Office.

The proceeds of the Lectures will be applied towards the increase of the Endowment Fund.

Gentlemen are admissible to this Course on an introduction from a Lady Visitor, a Member of the Council, or a Professor.

E. H. PLUMPTRE, M.A., Dean.

MANSION GRAMMAR SCHOOL, LETHERHEAD.—

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL EXAMINATIONS. OF EIGHT PUPILS of this School, under Sixteen Years of Age, the Seven named below passed:—Class I. (Honour), C. J. WILKINS, Islington, distinguished in Chemistry. Class II. (Honour), H. STONACH, Amoy, distinguished in Latin; P. HICKOX, Highbury, Class IV. (Pass), R. S. HUNT, Muscote-hill, distinguished in French; S. POSTIFEX, Demerara; J. DOULTON, Mortlake; T. CROSS, Surbiton. The Eighth failed through illness. Five Pupils out of Six from this School passed at the Oxford Examination in June, 1858.
J. PAYNE, Principal.

PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS IN ELEMENTARY DRAWING.

PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS in DRAWING, conducted by the Science and Art Department, will be held in the month of MARCH next, at the District Schools of Art at

Finbury—William-street, Wilmington-square.	St. Thomas' Charterhouse—Goswell-street.
Lambeth—Prince's-road.	Rotherhithe—Deptford-road.
Hampstead—Dispensary-building, New-end.	South Kensington—Cromwell-road.
St. Martin's—Castle-street, Long-acre.	Spitalfields—Crispin-street.
	St. George's-in-the-East.

The Examinations will be of two grades of proficiency, and are open to all persons without distinction (males and females), and whether taught in a School of Art or not, provided they have not been Examined within the last Twelve Months.

Persons who wish to be Examined must send to the Secretary of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, on or before the 3rd of March, their names and addresses, and the name of the District School to which they desire to come up for Examination; and state the subjects in which they are prepared to be Examined. Due notice will then be given them of the precise time of Examination. Schoolmasters wishing to have several of their Scholars Examined are only required to furnish the number who will attend for any of the above subjects.

Further information may be obtained of the Secretary of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, W.

By order of the Committee of Council on Education.
HENRY COLE, Sec.

ORNAMENTS FOR THE DRAWING-ROOM, LIBRARY, AND DINING-ROOM, consisting of a great variety of Vases, Figures, Groups, Inkstands, Candelsticks, Inlaid Tables, &c., in Derbyshire Spar, Marble, Italian, Albaster, Bronze, &c., manufactured and imported by J. TENNANT, 149, Strand, London.

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OXFORD.—A MARRIED M.A., late Fellow of a College, and who has been Classical Moderator, is willing to take ONE or TWO ADVANCED PUPILS to reside with him on the Continent.—Address, S. 12, Park-crescent, Oxford.

A MARRIED LADY, residing in Westbourne Park, receives SIX YOUNG LADIES of good family for the purpose of a SUPERIOR EDUCATION, combining home comforts with the attendance of eminent professors. Terms, including French, Drawing, and Washing, 100 Guineas per Annum. Address Mrs. GILES, 7, St. Stephen's-crescent, Westbourne-park, W.

BRIGHTON.—EDUCATION.—A LADY, residing in Kemp Town, receives under her care a LIMITED NUMBER OF YOUNG LADIES. Terms, including General Instruction in the usual branches of Education, from Sixty to One Hundred Guineas per Annum, according to the Age of the Pupil and the Studies pursued.—For further information, address to M. A., care of Mrs. CATWELL, 18, Chester-terrace, Eaton-square, London.

A GENTLEMAN, of Ten Years' experience in preparing Boys for Eton and Harrow, wishes to meet with a RE-ENGAGEMENT as RESIDENT or VISITING TUTOR.—Address, M. N. O., Messrs. HATCHARD and Co., 107, Piccadilly.

TO LITERARY MEN.—An opportunity offers of an ENGAGEMENT of an influential nature upon a COLONIAL NEWSPAPER of first-class position. To save trouble, none but gentlemen of really high qualifications need apply. Communications, which must be held strictly confidential on both sides, to be addressed A.B.C., care of ROBERT BESLEY, Esq., 2, Fann-street, Aldersgate-street.

CONSUMPTION HOSPITAL, BROMPTON.—All the Wards are now open. Additional FUNDS are earnestly SOLICITED. A large number of Out-patients are daily seen by the Physicians. PHILIP ROSE, Hon. Sec.

LONDON FEVER HOSPITAL, ISLINGTON. ESTABLISHED 1802.—TWO HUNDRED BEDS.

President.—The Right Hon. LORD MONTEAGLE. Cases of Fever of every kind, and in all stages of malignity, occurring in the Families of the Poor, or among the Domesticates of the Affluent, are received into the Hospital at all hours.

FUNDS are PRESSINGLY NEEDED. Money may be paid to the Treasurers, Messrs. HOARE and Co., Fleet-street; or to the Secretary, at the Hospital.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

THE DIRECTORS HAVE TO INTIMATE THAT THE BOOKS OF THE SOCIETY CLOSE, FOR THE CURRENT YEAR, AT 1ST MARCH NEXT, AND THAT PROPOSALS FOR ASSURANCE LODGED ON OR BEFORE THAT DATE WILL ENTITLE POLICIES TO ONE YEAR'S ADDITIONAL BONUS OVER LATER ENTRANTS.

THE SCOTTISH EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

INSTITUTED 1831.—INCORPORATED BY SPECIAL ACT OF PARLIAMENT. The Fund accumulated from the Contributions of Members exceeds ONE MILLION STERLING.

The Annual Revenue amounts to ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-TWO THOUSAND POUNDS.

The amount of existing Assurances exceeds FIVE MILLIONS. The next TRIENNIAL DIVISION OF PROFITS will be made at 1st MARCH, 1859.

ROBT. CHRISTIE, Manager.
WM. FINLAY, Secretary.

HEAD OFFICE.—26, ST. ANDREW-SQUARE, EDINBURGH.

OFFICE IN LONDON.—26, POULTRY.

Agent.—ARCH. T. RITCHIE.

BANK OF EGYPT.—Notice is Hereby Given that the ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of this Corporation will be held at the LONDON TOWER, on FRIDAY, the 4th of March, at Two o'clock P.M. precisely.

The Transfer Books will be closed from Tuesday the 1st of March, to Tuesday the 15th of March, both inclusive.

By order of the Court, EDWARD CHESHIRE, Secretary.

26, Old Broad-street, E.C.
London, 11th February, 1859.

THE ROYAL ASSOCIATION FOR PROMOTION OF THE FINE ARTS IN SCOTLAND.

FOUNDED IN 1833.—INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER 1847.

PLAN FOR THE CURRENT YEAR, 1859.

First.—Each Subscriber will have a chance of obtaining a Valuable Work of Art at the Annual General Distribution in July, 1859.

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Third.—Each Subscriber who, between the years 1859 and 1863 inclusive, has paid up, in one or more payments, the amount of Five Subscriptions of One Guinea each, will receive, in addition to the Engraving, Engravings, or Illustrated Works, which will be annually issued as usual, an impression of a beautiful Plate, Engraved in the highest style of Line, the same size as the Picture.

"SCENE FROM THE GENTLE SHEPHERD."

By Sir DAVID WILKIE, R.A.

Note.—This exquisite Picture was engraved thirty years ago, but on a scale quite inadequate to do justice to its extreme beauty and delicacy of expression. It is the desire of the Committee, to which the Proprietor of the Picture, JAMES T. GIBSON-CRAIG, Esq., has very handsomely acceded, that this perfect work of our great National Painter be now for the first time engraved of the same size as the Painting, and in a style in every way worthy of it. As soon as the number of impressions necessary to supply the Subscribers who have complied with the above regulation has been taken from the Plate, it will be destroyed.

THE COLLECTION OF SUBSCRIPTIONS for the Current Year is now in the course of being made by the various Secretaries in their different localities, who will cause Receipts made out in the names of their Subscribers of last year to be presented to them for payment. New Subscribers in London are requested to furnish their names without loss of time to the Honorary Secretaries for that city, viz.:

William Tweedie, Publisher, 337, Strand.
Charles Robertson, 90, Long-acre.
W. G. Drake, 43, Lothbury.
A. T. Ritchie, 26, Poultry.
F. N. Johnstone, 8, Fenchurch-street.
J. H. Koch, 157, Gresham House, Old Broad-street.
Smith, Elder, and Co., Cornhill.
C. Hitchcock, 67, Lombard-street.
W. D. McCombie, Hatton House, Hatton-garden.
Edinburgh, February 19th, 1859.

HANDSOME BRASS AND IRON BEDSTEADS.—HEAL and SON'S Show-rooms contain a large assortment of Brass Bedsteads, suitable both for Home Use and for Tropical Climates; handsome Iron Bedsteads, with Brass Mountings and elegantly Japanned; plain Iron Bedsteads for Servants; every description of Wood Bedstead that is manufactured, in Mahogany, Birch, Walnut Tree Woods, Polished Deal and Japanned, all fitted with Bedding and Furniture complete, as well as every description of Bedroom Furniture.

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ALLSOPP'S PALE ALE in the finest condition, is now being delivered by HARRINGTON PARKER and CO.

This celebrated Ale, recommended by Baron Liebig and all the Faculty, is supplied in bottles, and in casks of 18 gallons and upwards, by

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PURE BRANDY, 16s. per Gallon.—PALE or BROWN EAU-DE-VIE, of exquisite flavour and great purity—identical, indeed, in every respect with those choice productions of the Cognac district, which are now difficult to procure at any price—35s. per dozen, French bottles and case included, or 16s. per gallon.

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Extract from THE LANCET, July 10th, 1858.

"THE WINES OF SOUTH AFRICA.—We have visited Mr. Denman's stores, selected in all eleven samples of wine, and have subjected them to careful analysis. Our examination has extended to an estimation of their bouquet and flavour, their acidity and sweetness, the amount of wine stone, the strength in alcohol, and particularly to their purity. We have to state that these wines, though branded to a much less extent than Sherries, are yet, on the average, nearly as strong; that they are pure, wholesome, and perfectly free from adulteration; indeed, considering the low price at which they are sold, their quality is remarkable."

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12 Table Forks, best quality ...	£ s. d. 1 16 0	£ s. d. 2 14 0	£ s. d. 3 0 0	£ s. d. 3 12 0
12 Table Spoons, do. ...	1 16 0	2 14 0	3 0 0	3 12 0
12 Dessert Forks, do. ...	1 7 0	2 0 0	2 4 0	2 14 0
12 Dessert Spoons, do. ...	1 7 0	2 0 0	2 4 0	2 14 0
12 Tea Spoons, do. ...	0 16 0	1 4 0	1 7 0	1 16 0
2 Sauce Ladles, do. ...	0 8 0	0 10 0	0 11 0	0 13 0
1 Gravy Spoon, do. ...	0 7 0	0 10 0	0 11 0	0 13 0
4 Salt Spoons (gilt bowls) ...	0 8 0	0 10 0	0 11 0	0 13 0
1 Mustard Spoon, do. ...	0 1 8	0 2 6	0 3 0	0 3 6
1 Pair Sugar Tongs, do. ...	0 3 6	0 5 0	0 6 0	0 7 0
1 Pair Fish Carvers, do. ...	1 0 0	1 10 0	1 14 0	1 18 0
1 Butter Knife, do. ...	0 3 0	0 5 0	0 6 0	0 7 0
1 Soup Ladle, do. ...	0 12 0	0 16 0	0 17 6	1 0 0
6 Egg Spoons (gilt) do. ...	0 10 0	0 15 0	0 18 0	1 1 0
Complete Service ...	£10 13 10	15 16 6	17 13 6	21 4 6

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One Set of 4 Corner Dishes (forming 8 Dishes), 23 8s.; One Set of 4 Dish Covers—viz. one 20 inch, one 18 inch, and two 14 inch—£10 10s.; Cruet Frame, 4 Glasses, 24s.; Full-Size Tea and Coffee Service, £9 10s. A Costly Book of Engravings, with prices attached, sent per post on receipt of 12 Stamps.

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Two Dozen Full-Size Table Knives, Ivory Handles ...	£ s. d. 2 4 0	£ s. d. 3 6 0	£ s. d. 4 12 0
1½ Doz. Full Size Cheese ditto ...	1 4 0	1 14 6	2 11 0
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Complete Service ...	£4 16 0	6 18 6	9 16 6

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LADIES' TRAVELLING and DRESSING BAGS, from £2 12s. to £100 each.
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